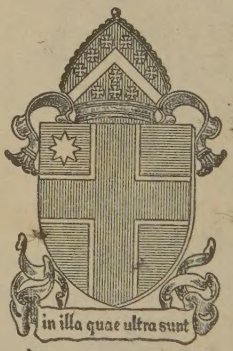

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The ministry of grace : studies in early church history with reference to present problems

THE MINISTRY OF GRACE

THE

MINISTRY OF GRACE

STUDIES IN EARLY CHURCH HISTORY
WITH REFERENCE TO PRESENT PROBLEMS

BY

JOHN WORDSWORTH

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THE ANGLO-CONTINENTAL SOCIETY

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1903

TO ALL WHO LOVE

THE GLORIOUS CHURCH OF GOD

AND WHO STUDY ITS PAST

IN THE HOPE THAT IT MAY GROW MORE GLORIOUS

IN THE DAYS THAT ARE TO COME

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION

A PREFACE to a book should be, I suppose, a friendly letter from the author to his readers, telling them any facts about it which may help them to understand its origin and object, and to master its contents more readily, and introducing them to those of his friends who have been most helpful to himself in its production.

Those, at any rate, who read this book may like to know that the 'Studies' of which it is composed were for the most part delivered as addresses to Clergy and Churchwardens of the Diocese of Salisbury at the author's fifth triennial Visitation in the summer of 1900. Since then they have all been entirely re-written, revised and enlarged, especially the Introduction and the chapters on 'Christian Asceticism and the Celibacy of the Clergy,' and on the Christian Day, Week, and Year. That on 'Women's Work' is wholly new. In this work of correction I have,

on the whole, thought it well to retain something of the livelier personal element suitable to the first form of the different chapters, while attempting to correct the sketchiness and rapidity of treatment incidental to such addresses. I hope that my readers will forgive the mixture of styles which is in some degree the result.

The book has not only cost me some labour in its composition, but its conclusions are the result of rather long preliminary study. It is difficult to summarise them in few words, but it will be found that they all tend generally in the same direction. As a whole, it is an attempt to give a *reasonable* account of the institutions and customs of which it treats, *i.e.* to show how they arose, and with what principles their origin and development were connected. Such an explanation tends generally to dispel the force of unreasoning conservatism, and its influence is not merely confined to the questions actually brought under review. It removes the prejudice that all parts of Church order are equally important. At the same time it brings out into greater relief the importance of the fundamental institutions of the Church which (as I have stated on p. 148) may be traced to the old general charismatic Ministry. These are the 'one Bible everywhere received in the Church, one Creed, one weekly holy day, one Baptism, and one Eucharist.' As regards the Ministry, as we know it in practice, the conclusions reached are

rather tentative than absolute. They point to a primitive origin for the regular ministry of the word and sacraments, but to an uneven rate of development in its component orders, and to a longer duration of the charismatic ministry in some regions than in others, as well as to the persistence of the latter as a 'reserve force' latent in the Episcopate. As regards the Episcopate, the facts here stated indicate a general tendency to a monarchical regimen, while they show that it was not everywhere set up in exactly the same form or at the same date. The practical conclusions must surely be: (1) that while some form of regular ministry is always necessary, it need not exclude a charismatic ministry; and (2) that while Episcopacy must be a marked feature of the Church of the future, it need not everywhere have exactly the same relation to the Presbyterate.

Episcopacy is perhaps the highest instance of a Church institution in regard to which history teaches us that variation is tolerable. But there are many other instances. We find striking variations also in regard to Confirmation and the forms of Eucharistic service. We find changes in the position of other ministers than Bishops, both men and women. We find the scheme of festivals and of the Christian day and week depending very much on external circumstances, and resulting in much that is very experimental and even unimportant as regards the

permanent form of Christian life. We find, again, great mischief arising from premature or enthusiastic regulation, and from the supersession of broad Scriptural teaching by single-text expositions or appeals to secular motives or to sentiment. The last topics are specially illustrated by the fourth and fifth chapters on 'Christian Asceticism and the Celibacy of the Clergy' and 'Women's Work.'

The whole tendency of the book, then, is towards creating a sober sense of freedom, such as is generally characteristic of Anglicanism—sober in its respect for antiquity, but free in feeling perfectly satisfied that identity of faith with that of the primitive Church is far more important than identity of custom, except in regard to the fundamental institutions already referred to.

I should have been glad to add several chapters to the volume besides that on 'Women's Work.' Not only have I been obliged to postpone the sections on the different rites, but to defer for a season of greater leisure and opportunity those on the higher and lower modes of organisation—the developments, on the one hand, of Patriarchates and Provinces, of Councils and Church Courts, and on the other, of the Parochial system. But I felt that I was in debt to our own clergy, many of whom were asking to read the book of which they had heard part at the Visitation.

As regards those who have helped me, my obligations to Duchesne, among living writers, and to Martene, among those who are gone from us, will be very evident. I have tried, as opportunity arose, to make due acknowledgment to the many other labourers in the field of Christian antiquities to whom I am indebted. I should like here also to mention a debt of another kind. The book would have lost much of its fulness but for the generous gift of a large part of my valued friend Canon T. L. Kingsbury's books which was made by his daughter[1] to the Cathedral and Palace Libraries. A similar gift to the Cathedral of Migne's Greek and Latin *Patrologia*, by the family of another learned theologian, Canon H. C. Powell, also deserves to be recorded. Such gifts may help students in country dioceses to make better use of their leisure for the benefit of the whole Church.

I have also to record the kind act of the late Sir Walter Farquhar, who, in the autumn of 1899, expressed a wish to enable me to circulate some of my writings, and gave me the means to do so. He was soon afterwards called to his rest; and I have only this means of expressing my thanks to him.

[1] His only child, Miss Helen Mary Kingsbury, whose Memoir of her father, prefixed to the reprint of his *Spiritual Sacrifice and Holy Communion* (Macmillan, 1900), shows her possession of something of his literary taste and power.

be introduced into their proper place in the text, and these I have treated in Appendices. The first of these contains a fairly long account of the newly-printed Egyptian Church Order called the '106 Canons of Basil' which I had unfortunately overlooked in the first edition, though a German version had been published by W. Riedel, of Kiel, in 1900 (Appendix B, pp. 445–451). Then comes an important extract from the Report of the Lambeth Conference (1897) Committee 'on Religious Communities,' published during the present year (1902), which illustrates Chapters IV and V (Appendix C, p. 452). Then I have printed a short paper on 'Liturgical Development' of a practical character, which I read at the Brighton Church Congress in October 1901 (Appendix D, pp. 454–462). Lastly comes a note on the Holy Fire at Jerusalem (Appendix E, pp. 462–464) which has its origin in a reference to Koray's paper kindly suggested to me by my friend Dr. John Gennadius.

JOHN SARUM

Christmas, 1902.

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THE

MINISTRY OF GRACE

INTRODUCTION

The study of Church History—Object of the book to give a sketch of Church organisation and rites as the system of a divine society—Different views to be combined—Predecessors in the field—The present work to bear on our own needs—Description of the most important ancient documents: I. Church Orders and similar books; II. Kalendars and Martyrologies; III. Liturgical books, Eastern and Western—Conclusion—Characteristics of different provinces of the Church.

Church History is necessarily the most inspiring and instructive of all histories. It is not only the record of the lives of men aiming at the highest ideal, and living in close association for the purpose of attaining it, but of lives, both singly and collectively, enjoying special assistance from God for this purpose. It is the history of the new and more perfect Covenant between God and man. It is the history of the work of Christ leading men into all the truth by the Holy Spirit, who is His vicegerent on earth, who sanctifies His body and every member of it, and who supplies that body with special means of grace. It is the history of a divine society supported by divine instruments.

d 4

A study of Church history is thus inevitably full of varied delight—delight in the beauty of the characters to which it introduces us, delight in the success of the truths which they have propagated, delight in the energy of eternal life of which it makes us conscious, delight in the vision which it opens to us of the second coming of the Lord, and of His reign of truth and peace. It has manifestly its complement of pain and disappointment, of anxiety and fear. This dark shadow will fall upon us, and chill us more sadly, in proportion to our own growth in holiness and our own sense of the grandeur of the Church's mission and our love of the cause of God which it is designed to serve. We should be wanting in true sympathy if we did not feel this pain severely. But we must not allow fear to triumph over hope. Our Lord's forecasts have prepared His disciples for such disappointments, and the pain which we experience is salutary. It does not lead us to doubt the reality of the visible Church; but it makes us acknowledge its incompleteness. We are, if we are true to Christ, constantly driven onwards and upwards, discerning, nevertheless, all the time in the earthly image the foretaste and prophecy of the eternal reality.

The view which I have thus indicated of the value of Church history is something more complete than any of the partial views which appear to be current, or are taken for granted by some recent writers. It embraces, however, as all complete views must do, the truths which they respectively contain.

Let me mention what these partial views are, so far as they have come to my knowledge. Some writers very properly recommend the study of Church history as a wholesome influence on personal character. This is the view of one whom I love to think of as a tried and ever-helpful friend, the late Professor Samuel Berger, of the Protestant Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris, whose labours on the Latin Bible have been of great benefit to Mr. White and myself in our edition of the New Testament of St. Jerome. He has put this view of Church history forward (in a recent opening lecture delivered 3 November, 1899) with his usual clearness and power of illustration.[1] How little did his friends in England suppose that it would be almost the last literary product of his blameless and useful life! Others insist upon the connection of Church history with the course of general history, and point out, often with great pertinency, the influence of environment upon the development of Christian institutions. This is the line taken in considerable detail by the late Dr. Edwin Hatch, of Oxford, in his Introductory Lecture delivered as Reader in this subject in 1885, and in his three books bearing upon different parts of the great field which he desired to cover.[2] His

[1] *Des études d'histoire ecclésiastique* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1899).

[2] *Introductory Lecture on the Study of Church History*, 23 April, 1885, Rivingtons; *The Organisation of the Early Christian Churches*, Bampton Lectures for 1880, Rivingtons, 1881; *The Growth of Church Institutions* (Preface dated 16 March, 1887), 3rd ed., Hodder & Stoughton, 1891; *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Early Christian Church*, 1st ed. 1890, 2nd ed. 1891, Williams & Norgate.

object, if I mistake not, is to show the plasticity of Christian institutions, to explain their origin and growth on philosophic principles, and to invite leaders of Christian thought and life to courageous action in dealing with them in the future. A third view is that which we may naturally call 'traditional,' which regards Church history as a mine of precedents, in which we are to look for support for our own ecclesiastical position and for controversial weapons against that of opponents. This last view must not simply be dismissed as out of date. For, if the opinions which we now hold are true, we shall certainly find that there is a continuity between them and the past; and we shall learn much from observing the steps by which they first became current, and then were accepted as authoritative. We shall also learn a great deal besides; and particularly we shall come to understand how divergences have arisen, and why all good people do not agree. We shall learn, in fact, to be tolerant, and to be patient of differences of belief where matters are so mysterious as to elude precise definition, or so indifferent as to be open to variety of handling without loss of unity on fundamentals. But, above all, we shall attain to a more settled personal conviction—it may be very much the same as that with which we began the study, or it may be one subject to considerable modifications. But in any case we shall have done our best as maintainers of an historical religion, of which Holy Scripture, tradition and authority are integral parts, and, as far as we can judge, must remain so till the end of time.

These three views may, I suppose, be fitly called the personal, the philosophic, and the traditional views of Church history. All have their place and their value for the candid student; but he will rather strive to combine them, and to hold them together in his outlook into the future, than be satisfied with any one of them by itself. He will remember that the Church is built on the foundation of the Prophets as well as the Apostles. He will try to gather from the past what is God's design for days that are coming. Development of personal character, the philosophy of history, a clear hold on Apostolic tradition—all these are excellent things. But a still higher aim is to help to prepare the way for the coming of God's Kingdom in its perfect beauty.

In pursuing this great design the student must be prepared for an inevitable difficulty. It is a natural and an unconscious prejudice—but still it is a prejudice—that the past is longer and more important than the future. We know that in ordinary experience, when we are travelling from one spot to another between sunrise and sunset, at every step we take, the past part of that day grows longer and the future part shorter. We imagine that the course of human life as a whole is like this; and, though we do not know at what part of the day our own life falls, we seem bound to reflect, in accordance with the general teaching of Holy Scripture, that every minute we are farther from the dawn and nearer to the hour of sunset. Then, again, the great trouble and long expense of time which a study of history involves,

and the certainty that we ourselves shall die before many years are past, impress us with the fulness of bygone years. The future looks short before us, unless we make a very serious effort to overcome the prepossession. And if we make an effort by what is called building castles in the air, or imagining great developments, reason checks us, and bids us be practical. So that it is not mere indolence, but almost a sense of duty, that makes us overvalue the past. But, for all that, it is a duty to remind ourselves from time to time that there is a future for the Church, possibly on this earth (I should even say probably), and certainly in the ages of eternity, which will be infinitely larger and broader in its scope than the past with all its glory has been.

If we can realise this we shall keep calm in the midst of strife, and strong in the face of opposing numbers or of pretentious assertions of superiority. Let us try in reading history to disentangle what is essential and permanently fruitful from the transitory and temporarily expedient. We shall find truth in many places and in all ages. The 'guiding into all the truth,' which our Saviour promises, is not confined to the Apostolic age, though the germs of all future Church life are there. Every unselfish soul, striving to be like Christ, has something of the eternal to reveal to us; and as the wealth and weight of Christian experience grow, we may surely hope for new graces to spring forth abundantly out of the old.

Our Saviour foreshadows this in the Gospel, and so do His Apostles. He speaks, on the one hand, of

a Word which He has to make known to men, and a Work to accomplish in their sight. He speaks of both as in one sense finished and given (St. John xvii. 4, 8, 14; cp. iv. 34), and therefore unique and complete. Yet He says to His disciples, 'Greater works than these shall ye do, because I go to my Father' (St. John xiv. 12; cp. St. Matt. xxi. 21). St. Luke, in like manner, evidently conceives of the Gospel as the 'beginning' only of our Lord's acts and teaching (Acts i. 1). We must always look back to that beginning, and in all things 'hold the head'; but we too are called to bear 'much fruit' (St. John xv. 8), and this can only be ours if we are full of hope and determined to go on 'from strength to strength' and from grace to grace.

Our subject is the 'Ministry of Grace,' the most general term by which we can express the rather complex system of outward assistance by which the divine help, given by God to His Church, is regularly conveyed to the body and its members under the conditions of space and time. It is a general title, a simple title, and a religious title; and on these three grounds I prefer it to others which might be suggested, such as 'Church Organisation,' 'History of Church Institutions,' 'Development of Church Polity and Ritual,' or 'Origins of Divine Worship.' I desire it to be general, that is to say, to touch both of the two spheres in which human life has to be lived—that of space, to which organisation specially belongs, and that of time, to which rites more particularly appertain. I desire it also to be simple, so

that the name and character of our book may be easily remembered. But, most of all, I wish to suggest the sacredness of the subject with which we are dealing. Just as we shrink from titles like that of the 'Life of Jesus' when used to describe the mystery of the manifestation of God incarnate, so in the parallel meeting of the human and divine in His body, the Church, we need to be perpetually reminded that we are on hallowed ground, and that, if the scene of what is described is earth and elements of earth are mixed with it, in its origin, progress and fulfilment it is a work of Heaven.

Of those who have treated this subject among ourselves, the most masterly is our own Sarum Prebendary and Sub-Dean, Richard Hooker, who was raised up in the reign of Elizabeth to give expression to the permanent principles of the English Reformation, and to establish them both on a philosophic and a traditional basis, with due regard also to personal edification. His treatise 'Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity' is deservedly reverenced as more than an English classic. It has been a powerful instrument in God's hand to promote true religion. But it contains apologetic and controversial matters, which are of less interest at present; and, both in knowledge of facts and in principles of study, Church history has made some progress in three hundred years.

The neighbouring Diocese of Winchester has the honour of numbering among its clergy the learned author of the 'Antiquities of the Christian Church,' which still holds its own as a fair and honest digest

of nearly all that was known up to the date of its publication in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.[3] It is, in fact, one of the few books of the kind which bear the test of time, and it is well known in Germany—as well as among ourselves. The writer, Joseph Bingham, was a Yorkshireman from Wakefield, sometime Fellow and tutor of University College, Oxford, and then incumbent of the small parish of Headbourne Worthy till within a few years of his death. He drew largely from the library given by Bishop Morley to Winchester Cathedral—a fact which is interesting in a diocese like our own, at a time when we have just received a valuable gift of books from the library of one of our Prebendaries, Canon T. L. Kingsbury. Bingham's work was recognised in his own day; but he never received any Cathedral preferment, Winchester being, unfortunately, a monastic foundation without Prebends. It is wonderful that a country parson, having always a weakly constitution and dying in his fifty-fifth year, who enjoyed a poor benefice, worth only 100*l.* per annum, should have been able to achieve so monumental a work.

I can, of course, make no pretence to rival either Hooker or Bingham; nor can I claim to cover so wide a range as the well-known treatise of Pelliccia,

[3] Bingham's book was published between the years 1708 and 1722. It was translated into Latin by J. H. Grischow of Halle, and published in eleven volumes, quarto, in 1724–38, and reprinted in 1751–61. Bingham was, unfortunately, not acquainted with Martene's works. He mentions one of them in the preface to his first volume, on hearsay, and by an incorrect designation.

'De Christianae Ecclesiae primae mediae et novissimae aetatis Politeia'; [4] nor can I enter into such fulness of liturgical detail as the brilliant lectures of the French professor, the Abbé L. Duchesne, published under the title of 'Origines du culte chrétien.' [5] I may, however, mention that excellent book as the nearest example of what I should like to offer to English readers—a summary account of Church organisation as well as of the early history of the most prominent Christian rites. The first part I am now able to publish, though not in as complete a form as I could wish; the second must remain for another occasion, if God gives health and opportunity. I have learnt much from Duchesne's book both as to matter and method, and can heartily recommend it to the clergy. I am glad to think that an English translation of it is about to be published by the S.P.C.K. (1902) from the third and corrected edition.[6]

[4] This book, written by a professor at the University of Naples, was published in 1777. It is the foundation of Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten* (7 vols., Mainz, 1825–41), which has special reference to Germany. Pelliccia's book has been translated into English.

[5] Its second and original title is *Étude sur la liturgie Latine avant Charlemagne*, which accounts for the comparative slightness of the sections on Eastern rites. I should also strongly recommend Dr. Pierre Batiffol's *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*, Paris, 1893, by a writer of the same school as Duchesne.

[6] In the first edition I pointed out that the following passage required cautious reading: 'A la fin du premier siècle Clément Romain écrit déjà comme pape et intervient avec une imposante autorité dans les conflits intérieurs de l'église de Corinthe.' It now runs, ed. 3, 1903: 'A la fin du premier siècle, l'église romaine, par l'organe de Clément, intervient,' &c., but this is still an overstatement.

But while we read books like Duchesne's for information and suggestion, we need something bearing more directly on our own position. We need criticism of the past as well as exhibition of the past: and we need to sift what is really Catholic and permanent in organisation and rites, with more discrimination than has often been used among us, from what is local and transitory. My own determined conviction is that the fairest hope for days to come is to be found in the spread of Anglican principles both in our own communion and in the Churches which exist around it. Our ideal is not to absorb but to leaven: to penetrate with healthy life, not to lord it over God's heritage. I shall therefore try to connect together what I have learnt from study so as to make it of use primarily to members of our own communion, and secondarily to that increasing body of persons, in various parts of the Eastern and Western Church, who desire to know not only what Anglicans believe but what they aim at in the future. In this connection let me remind you, that the political and social reputation of this country and the stability of its institutions, and in particular the establishment of the Church and its internal peace and the loyalty of its ministers and lay-members, are important to the future life of the Church universal. Other nations have adopted many of our political institutions. If Church and State continue to work happily together, with an increase of reasonable independence on the part of the Church, we shall see a similar influence of our ecclesiastical

constitution. Our efforts for Church defence and Church reform should therefore not be made merely in the interests of our own Nation and Empire, but in the hope of benefiting the whole complex organisation and relation of Church and State throughout the world.

Survey of the special ancient Literature

Before proceeding to the details of our subject, it is natural to take a survey of the special ancient literature which illustrates it, and to indicate some of the characteristics of the great Church centres out of which modern Christendom has developed. The literature is not very easy of access even to otherwise well-equipped students of Church History, and this is my reason for devoting considerable space to it and for occasionally making extracts of matters likely to prove important to students. It may be treated under three heads: I. *Church Orders and miscellaneous books of the same nature*; II. *Kalendars and Martyrologies*; III. *Liturgical books.*

I. Church Orders etc.—If we read the New Testament (outside the Gospels), and then constructed, *a priori*, an ideal history of the next age, we should, I think, expect to find collections of Apostolic ordinances and practices arising so soon as the leaders of the first age began to pass away from the scene of their labours. The earliest writings, as I hold them to be, of the New Testament—the Epistle of St. James and the two Epistles of St.

Paul to the Thessalonians—all point to a condition of things in which such regulations would naturally arise. The Epistle of St. James deals incidentally with such matters as seating people in church and the method of visiting the sick, and this in a way to imply that details of the kind were worthy of careful attention. The Epistles to the Thessalonians refer to commandments or traditions delivered by the Apostle (1 Th. iv. 1, 2, 2 Th. ii. 15, iii. 6) and embody various rules, not unlike those of later canons, on the relation of the sexes (1 Th. iv. 3 on fornication, 6 on adultery) and on the duty of work (2 Th. iii. 10–12). There is also an incidental mention of the 'reading' of such letters, evidently in church, which implies a form of religious meeting at regular intervals (1 Th. v. 27). The further we advance in New Testament literature the fuller such evidence naturally is. But as long as the Apostles lived it was felt to be unnecessary to put the whole scheme of such regulations on paper while the earthly probation of the Church seemed quickly drawing to a close. And even when the great leaders began to die off and to leave behind them communities which evidently needed an external bond to keep them together, were it but for a little while, the codifying of Church regulations was not the first felt necessity. They were in perpetual use as customs, and, as they represented the practice of the whole community, it was the interest and duty of all to see that they were carried out. It was otherwise with the preacher's message. And so it would seem that

the three Synoptic Gospels came first to be written down—St. Matthew's as his legacy to the Church in Palestine which he was leaving; St. Mark's as an attempt to supply the place of St. Peter's oral teaching, an attempt made by one who had long been his 'interpreter' to the Greek portion of a Christian congregation; and St. Luke's for the sake of a single convert of position, probably in one of the communities founded by St. Paul. All three may be placed in the decade between A.D. 60 and 70, our St. Mark probably being the earliest of the three. The taking of Jerusalem, however, in the last-named year, set free the minds of Christians from immediate dwelling upon the Judgment; and it seems to me surprising that, after this, attempts were not made, with something like authority, to codify the customs of the Churches in which Apostles had laboured.

It was, however, providentially ordered otherwise; and no certainly genuine document of the nature of a Church Order has come down to us bearing the name of any Church, or of any Apostle or leader of the Church, which can be assigned to the first three centuries. Nor are such books as undoubtedly did exist referred to in the literature of that age except in a very loose and uncertain manner. If we accept, as I think we must, the judgment of Harnack that the Pfaffian fragments are forgeries ('T. & U.' N.F. v. 3, 1900), the supposed reference by Irenaeus to the 'Second Constitutions of the Apostles' disappears. There is a genuine one in the tract against gambling, 'De Aleatoribus,' c. 4, printed in the works of St. Cyprian—

The King's Library

ascribed by Harnack to Pope Victor—which quotes a book called 'The Teachings of the Apostles.' Although the authorship of the writing ascribed to Victor is uncertain, the reference seems to show that treatises of the nature of the books I am now about to speak of were known in some quarters about A.D. 190. The evidence, however, such as it is, goes to prove that, if known, they were not regarded as widely authoritative, and that it was the instinctive feeling of the Church that traditions of this kind, fettering the free development of Church legislation on things indifferent, were of minor importance, if not harmful. All the books that have come down to us in the class I am now describing are feeble and sectional, where they are not sectarian and heretical; and they compare unfavourably not only with the canonical books but with genuine Sub-apostolic literature. The obscurity of the subject will of course account for the tentative nature of the conclusions which I put before you.[7] The student will also find that, though some of the details may appear unimportant, they will afterwards generally be worked into arguments on subjects of larger interest.

I shall first give some account of four types of Church Order: 1, The *Didaché*; 2, *The lost Church Order* which was the basis of the Roman and other (Egyptian, Asian, and Syrian) Church Orders; 3, The *Apostolic Church Order*, perhaps Asian in origin; 4, The *Didascalia*. They have this in

[7] A list of some of the most necessary books for a study of this literature will be found in an Appendix at the end of this volume.

common, that they are Ante-Nicene, but they are practically independent documents. This fact is important, because it shows a considerable unity of custom in the Church. The origin of the first, second and fourth may with some probability be ascribed to Syria; the third appears to me to be connected with Asia Minor. It has also been ascribed to Egypt. The Syrian or Palestinian origin of documents claiming Apostolic authority is however the most probable hypothesis *a priori*, and next to that the Asian. Egypt was a meeting place for both Palestinian and Roman traditions, but it does not appear to have had much native Christian literature in the earliest times. The Gospel according to St. Mark was probably brought to Egypt from Rome by its author. The Epistle of 'Barnabas' may be the first Egyptian book that we possess.

1. The oldest of these books is generally held to be the Διδαχή or *Teaching of the Apostles* or *Teaching of the Lord by the Twelve Apostles*. It consists of three parts—being, like the rest of the class, of composite character. First comes a little book, originally of Jewish morality, the 'Two Ways,' *i.e.* of life and of death: see below p. 440; then 'Church Ordinances' of a simple character, the most noticeable feature of which is the continuance of a charismatic and itinerant ministry of 'Prophets' and 'Apostles,' side by side with a settled ministry of 'Bishops and Deacons.' Thirdly comes a 'Prophecy of the last things.' An early date, in the first half of the second century, is suggested by many negative indications, such as the

absence of any form of Creed, the inchoate form of Church government just referred to, the simplicity of the Church service implied, both for Baptism and the Eucharist, the absence of any clear reference to St. Paul's Epistles on the one side, or to Gnostic or Montanist teaching on the other, and the absence of any mention of the Easter fast. These negative indications have led many scholars to place the 'Didaché' in the first century, or very early in the second. Dr. Harnack does not do so, mainly on the ground of its dependence upon the Epistle of Barnabas; and he therefore assigns it to the period after A.D. 130, but not later than A.D. 160, since he places the appearance of Montanus in A.D. 157 ('Chronologie der Altchr. Lit.' i. 428 foll., cp. 720 foll., Leipz. 1897). Dr. Bigg on the contrary (in his edition in the S.P.C.K. series of 'Early Church Classics') stands almost alone in assigning a post-Montanistic date to the book, finding a reference to the peculiar teaching of that sect in the phrase 'bearing the whole yoke of the Lord' (ch. 6, 2) and others somewhat like it. To me the slightly ascetic colouring seems Ebionite and Encratite rather than Montanist, and I incline (notwithstanding some serious difficulties) to suppose the country from which it sprung to be some part of Syria or Palestine. As to the date, I may say that I do not feel convinced of the derivative relation of the 'Didaché' to Barnabas, and simply think it safer to assign the book to the first half of the second century. If the supposed Victor refers to it in the 'De Aleatoribus,' as he may do, it would show

that it had penetrated to Rome before the end of the century in which it was composed.

2. *The lost Church Order.*—Next to the 'Didaché' we must place a lost book of which we infer the existence from the common matter contained in a number of others, the earliest of which is the 'Roman Church Order' usually called the 'Canons of Hippolytus,' and the latest the 'Testament of our Lord.' The earliest seems to date in its substance from rather before than after A.D. 200, the latest from about A.D. 400, but with portions dating *circa* 250 A.D. This lost 'Church Order' apparently consisted of three parts:—(1) it began with rules for the choice and ordination of a Bishop and described the Eucharistic service in which he was the principal celebrant; it then went on to give rules as to other officers—Presbyters and Deacons, and probably Readers; (2) it considered the admission of different classes to the Church and described their training as catechumens, their Baptism and Confirmation and subsequent Communion: (3) it gave rules for fasting and almsgiving, the entertainment of the poor and aged at the Agapae, the Easter fast and celebration, public and private worship and the like.

That this lost basis was originally Syrian or Palestinian may be argued from the facts that in the 'Roman Church Order' ('C. H.' xxii. 195) the Easter fast is fixed by observation of the time when the Jews keep the Passover, and that in the didactic portion at its close we find the sentence: 'May peace descend upon all those who shall have

kept these canons and upon all Israel' (*ib.* xxxviii. 261). This expression, applied to the Church from Gal. vi. 16, is more likely to have been used in Palestine than elsewhere. But that the book was taken up by the Roman Church, and thence propagated, in most if not all the forms in which it has come down to us, may be gathered from the name of Hippolytus associated with two of them, and more markedly from the fact that where elements of a Creed are found they are in most cases in the Western form. This is particularly the case in the answers to the Baptismal interrogations, which when united form a Creed, like that of the Roman Church, which we call the Apostles' Creed, reading, 'I believe in God' . . . 'and in Christ Jesus the Son of God.' On the other hand the Creed of the Eastern Church —which was more in conflict with the heresies that attacked the unity of the divine Persons—runs 'I believe in *one* God' . . . 'and in *one* Lord Jesus Christ,' and sometimes 'in *one* holy Spirit.'

We shall see that not only the 'Roman Church Order' but also Hauler's Latin fragments and the 'Testament of our Lord' all follow the Western type. The Alexandrian form in the 'Egyptian Heptateuch' has elements of a later Creed (ch. 46), and the responses to the Baptismal interrogations are considerably interpolated: but even here the epithet 'one' is not found in reference to any of the three Persons of the Godhead, nor even is 'only' attached to the Church—that being the special Alexandrian epithet.

It may be well to exhibit side by side the three

most distinct forms of the Western Creed as it exists in these books so that the argument as to origin may be made definitely clear. I have enclosed what appear to be interpolations in square brackets.

(*a*) *Roman Church Order* ('C. H.' xix. 124–132).

1. Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?

Answer: I believe.

2. Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ the Son of God

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .

whom Mary the Virgin bore from (*ex*) the Holy Spirit, [who came to save the human race] . . who was crucified [for us] under Pilatus Pontius, who died . . . and rose again from the dead on the third day . . . . and ascended to the heavens and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the living and the dead?

Answer: I believe.

3. Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit [the Paraclete

(*d*) *Verona Latin fragments*, ed. Hauler, p. 110.

1. [This part is lost.]

2. Dost thou believe in Christ Jesus the son of God

. . . . .
. . . . .
. . . . .
. . . . .

who was born of (*de*) the Holy Spirit from (*ex*) Mary the Virgin

. . . . .
. . . . .

and crucified . . . . . under Pontius Pilatus and died and was buried and rose again on the third day living from the dead and ascended into the heavens and sat on the right hand of the Father, about to come to judge the living and the dead?

Answer: I believe.

3. Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit, . . .

(*e*) *Testament of our Lord*, ii. 8.

1. Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?

Answer: I believe.

2. Dost thou believe in Christ Jesus the Son of God, [who came from the Father, who from the beginning is with the Father,] who was born of Mary the Virgin by (*per*) the Holy Spirit

. . . .
. . . .

who was crucified . . . in the days of Pontius Pilatus and died . . . and rose on the third day living from the dead and ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and is coming to judge the living and the dead?

Answer: I believe.

3. Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit, . . .

proceeding from the	. . . . .	. . . .
Father and the	. . . . .	. . . .
Son [8]? . . .	. . . . .	. . . .
. . . .	and the holy Church	the holy Church?
. . . .	and the resurrection	. . . .
. . . .	of the flesh?	. . . .
Answer: I believe.	*Answer*: I believe.	*Answer*: I believe.

It will be observed that, besides minor differences from the ordinary text and from one another, all three agree in omitting the epithet 'only' from the article on the Son; that two of them omit the articles of the 'burial' and 'the resurrection of the flesh,' and that one omits the article of the holy Church.' If we excise the clauses omitted by any of the three, as well as the other interpolated and peculiar clauses, and merely keep the residue, we shall obtain the following very primitive form of Creed, which we may assign to the 'Lost Church Order':—'I believe in God the Father Almighty; And in Christ Jesus the Son of God, who was born of the Holy Spirit from Mary the Virgin, who was crucified under Pontius Pilatus, and died and rose again on the third day (living?) from the dead, and ascended to the heavens, and sitteth (sat?) on the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the living and the dead; And in the Holy Spirit.' This, as far as it goes, is most like the Nicetian formula (Hahn 'Bibl. der Symb.' ed. 3 p. 47 f.)

We must now give some account of the different existing Church Orders based on the lost book from which this Creed must have come.

(*a*) The earliest working up of this lost Church

[8] This is apparently a late interpolation from a Latin source.

Order (except in a few passages which may reasonably be explained as interpolations) is, in my opinion, the 'Roman Church Order' current under the title of the 'Canons of Hippolytus.' It cannot, however, I think, be the work of Hippolytus himself, chiefly for two reasons: (1) because the date of the Easter fast is, in it, ordered to be found by observing when the Jews keep the Passover (xxii. 195), and (2) because the tone is much less rigorous and ascetic than we should expect in the enemy of Callistus. Its antiquity is also made evident by the absence from it of any apocryphal pretence and by the order to use only one and the same prayer (of which the text is given) in ordaining Bishops and Presbyters, with only a change of title to adapt it to either rank (iv. 31). We must therefore probably assign it to a period before A.D. 216–224, when Hippolytus was making researches into the Kalendar, and we may reasonably suppose that it belongs to the time of Pope Victor, who died in A.D. 199. In this case the references to Subdeacons must be numbered among the interpolations. But considering that it has only come down to us in the form preserved by the Coptic Canonists of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, and only in an Arabic version, we need not be surprised at these and other interpolations, but must rather wonder that they are so few. Such interpolations also exist (see above, p. 20) in the form of Creed, one of them being an obvious Latin intrusion, the clause asserting the double procession of the Holy Spirit. But nevertheless the general form of the Creed in the 'Canons' is exceedingly primitive.

This book was first edited by D. B. von Haneberg in 1870, with a Latin version. The edition which I have used is the convenient and scholarly one of Dr. Hans Achelis, in the Leipzig 'Texte und Untersuchungen,' vol. vi. fasc. 4, 1891, which has parallels from Ludolf's Ethiopic Statutes, from the Coptic or 'Egyptian Heptateuch,' in a new version made by Dr. Steindorff (Achelis, p. 35), and portions of the eighth book of the 'Apostolic Constitutions,' sometimes in two forms.[9]

Quite recently Dom G. Morin of Maredsous has proposed to identify the book with the Epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria (head of the catechetical school in 232, and Bishop 247–265 A.D.) addressed to the Romans 'by the hands of Hippolytus' (δι' Ἱππολύτου) which Eusebius calls διακονική, and Rufinus renders in his version 'de ministeriis' (Eus. 'H. E.' vi. 46). Dionysius could only write such an Epistle 'to the Romans' as Bishop, and therefore after 247, when Hippolytus of Rome had probably long been dead. Dr. Salmon supposes him to have died in 235. The messenger would then have been another and an unknown Hippolytus. It is also difficult to suppose a book newly composed at that time in Egypt containing some of the matter of the 'C. H.,' especially the rule for Easter and the Creed of Western type. Further, as the treatise has only been

[9] A new German version of the *Canons of Hippolytus* from a revised text may be found in W. Riedel's *Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien* (pp. 193–230, Leipzig, 1900), but little new light is thrown on the history. Riedel follows the order of the MS. and gives no parallels. For Funk see below, p. 108 n.

preserved in Egypt, and not at Rome, we should have to suppose first that it went to Rome (where it was lost) and then came back to Egypt bearing the name of Hippolytus by a double mistake (the unknown messenger being turned into the Roman Bishop), instead of that of the famous Alexandrian Bishop who was *ex hypothesi* its real author. The whole conjecture, in fact, is too elaborate for probability. Much more probable is it that the book contains material originally received by the Egyptians from Rome, and on account of its Roman *provenance* rightly or wrongly connected by them with the famous Greek Bishop of that region. When I say 'rightly' I do not mean that Hippolytus might have been author of the 'Canons,' but that he might in some way have given currency to them. The epithet διακονική, again, may mean simply 'serviceable'; but even if, as Mr. Larpent suggests, Dionysius wrote on the ministry, to judge by his 'canonical Epistle' to Basilides, his letter would have been more discursive and argumentative than the book we have been discussing.

(*b*) and (*c*). The *Egyptian Church Order*.—Next in antiquity comes the form of this book preserved in Ethiopic, and first edited, though not quite completely, by the statesman and linguist Job Ludolf, in his 'Commentary' attached to his 'History of Æthiopia,' published at Frankfort in 1691. This is remarkable for the archaic form of the prayers, which are given in full. It contains a prayer for the ordination of Presbyters, but in its most simple form, and without any direct mention of their office—being,

in fact, the prayer often quoted in the dispute about Abyssinian ordinations (*v.i.* p. 53, n. 19). It also has the earliest form of the old Eucharistic anaphora, which is distinguished by its reference to our Lord's stretching forth His hands and by its early form of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the offering of bread and wine, with no reference to any change in them, but with a prayer for the gifts of holiness and Holy Spirit and strengthening of faith to the communicants. This anaphora is printed below, p. 27, from the almost identical form in the Verona Latin fragments.

The parallel portions of this 'Ethiopic Church Order' (no doubt really *Alexandrian*) are conveniently printed by Achelis in his edition of the 'Canons of Hippolytus.' A complete edition of the whole, by my friend Rev. George Horner, editor of the Coptic New Testament, is, happily, in prospect.

(*c*) Closely akin to this is the second book of the *Egyptian Heptateuch*, which was first published as a whole by Tattam, in 1848. An amended version in Greek was made by Lagarde for vol. vi. of Bunsen's 'Christianity and Mankind,' otherwise called 'Analecta Ante-Nicaena,' vol. ii. (pp. 461–477, 1854). Both are now superseded by Dr. Steindorff's version from which the parallel passages are printed by Achelis. They contain few prayers. The Creed is in a degree Western, but has more Eastern interpolations than the rest. There is an elaborate Confirmation, with double unction, as in (*d*). No ordination prayers are given, but the old rule of the 'Roman

Order' is preserved for Presbyters (§ 32): 'Let [the Bishop] pray over him according to the form which we have spoken of concerning the Bishops.' This is one evidence out of many that different forms of the *lost Church Order* vary in relative antiquity in different parts.

(*d*) *The Verona Latin Fragments.*—Later than either of the two Egyptian books, but earlier than the 'Testament of our Lord,' may be placed the Latin fragments from a Verona palimpsest quite recently edited by Dr. Edmund Hauler of Vienna, under the title 'Didascaliae Apostolorum fragmenta Veronensia latina' (Lipsiae, 1900). The book contains in the first place fragments of the 'Didascalia,' then of the 'Apostolic Church Order,' and then of a later but interesting form of our book. The prayers are generally more interpolated, and there are different forms for ordaining Bishops and Presbyters, as in Ludolf's Ethiopic. That for a Presbyter contains the name of the office in the petition: 'that he may assist the Presbyters and govern thy people with a pure heart' (p. 108–9); and that for Bishops introduces the thought of 'high-priesthood' ('primatum sacerdotii,' p. 105). The Eucharistic anaphora confirms and illustrates the form of Invocation already noticed as found in the Ethiopic (p. 106–7). As the group of books now before us was probably the earliest to put in writing a form of consecration prayer, it may be given here from the second of the two recensions that have come down to us, which is almost word for word the same as the first, and

makes it more intelligible. Being in Latin it is probably nearer the original Greek than an Oriental version.

Dominus vobiscum :
Et cum spiritu tuo.

Susum corda :
Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino :
Dignum et iustum est.

Gratias tibi referimus, Deus, per dilectum puerum tuum Iesum Christum, quem in ultimis temporibus misisti nobis salvatorem et redemptorem et angelum voluntatis tuae ; qui est verbum tuum inseparabile[m], per quem omnia fecisti et beneplacitum tibi fuit ; misisti de caelo in matricem virginis, quique in utero habitus incarnatus est et filius tibi ostensus est, ex spiritu sancto et virgine natus ; qui, voluntatem tuam conplens et populum sanctum tibi adquirens, extendit (MS. -is) manus, cum pateretur, ut a passione liberaret eos qui in te crediderunt ; Qui cumque traderetur voluntariae passioni, ut mortem solvat, et vincula diabuli dirumpat, et infernum calcet, et iustos inluminet, et terminum figat, et resurrectionem manifestet, accipiens panem gratias tibi agens dixit :

Accipite, manducate : hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis confringetur.

Similiter et calicem dicens :

Hic est sanguis meus, qui pro vobis effunditur ; quando hoc facitis meam commemorationem facitis.

Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius offerimus tibi panem et calicem gratias tibi agentes, quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare. Et petimus ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae ; in unum congregans des omnibus, qui percipiunt, sanctis in repletionem spiritus sancti, ad confirmationem fidei in veritate, ut te laudemus et glorificemus per puerum tuum Iesum Christum, per quem tibi gloria et honor, patri et filio cum sancto spiritu, in sancta ecclesia tua et nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

The use of *puer* = *παῖς* of our Lord in this anaphora reminds us of the Eucharistic prayers of the 'Didaché' (c. 9, 2 and 3), as the prayer towards the close ('in unum congregans') reminds us of the petitions for the gathering together of the Church in the same book (9, 3 and 6). So also the expression, peculiar to this anaphora, about our Lord's stretching forth His hands, may reasonably be used to explain the *σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ* of the 'Didaché,' 16, 7—a meaning which my friend Archdeacon Edwin Palmer suggested when the Didaché first appeared, and one that is more probable than 'opening of the heavens' as Harnack renders it.

As regards the Verona fragments there are signs of a comparatively late date in the evident desire shown to reduce the Deacons to their proper place (pp. 109, l. 10 foll. cp. 112, 25; also in 'C. H.'), and in the amplification of prayers. The form of Creed already printed (above, p. 21) is, it will be noticed, the only one of the three which contains the article about the resurrection of the flesh. The rite of Confirmation also is elaborate. There is, first, unction by a Presbyter; then laying on of hands by the Bishop with a short prayer (p. 111): 'O Lord God, who hast made them worthy to receive remission of sins by the laver of the new birth of the holy Spirit, send upon them thy grace that they may serve thee according to thy will; for to thee is glory' etc. Then follows a second unction, by the Bishop, a 'sealing' on the forehead by him, and a kiss, and then Communion. The words of administration that follow are striking. 'Panis

caelestis in Christo Iesu,' to which the answer is 'Amen' (p. 112, 23). The administration of the Eucharistic chalice to the newly-baptised is accompanied by that of two others, one of water and another of milk (mixed with honey), with the words 'In Deo patre omnipotenti.' Answer, 'Amen.' 'Et domino Iesu Christo et Spiritu sancto et sancta ecclesia,' to which the answer also is 'Amen,' the same formulae being apparently said for each of the three cups. This, it will be observed, is a short summary of the Creed already just professed by the catechumens in Baptism.

Besides the ordinary Eucharistic blessing of oil there is also one for cheese and olives (p. 108). As to locality, the double confirmation unction looks Roman (*v.i.* p. 82, n. 31). But the mention of 'Presbyteresses' in the Didascalia portion (p. 38) is against both Rome and Alexandria. Dr. Hauler puts the Greek original before A.D. 350, and perhaps it would be difficult to go much beyond this in assigning a date for the compilation. But the date of the latter or 'canonical' part is, generally speaking, Ante-Nicene, and, according to my conjecture, of Syrian origin. This is suggested by the points of contact with the 'Didaché' noticed in the anaphora.

(*e*) The *Testament of our Lord*[10] is a book exhibiting much more salient features. It is, like others of this group, part of a larger compilation, that

[10] Portions of this book were edited in Syriac by Lagarde, and also in a Greek version of his own in *Reliquiae iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimae*, pp. 80–89, 1856. The whole has been recently edited in Syriac with a Latin version, Introduction, Dissertations, and Indices by the Uniate Patriarch Rahmani, Mainz, 1899.

of the *Syrian* Clementine *Octateuch*, of which it forms the first two books. It has certain enthusiastic and rigorist characteristics which suggest a Montanist handling. I have elsewhere summed them up as follows: 'The frequent emphasis on spirituality and works of the Spirit, the phrase "sons of light," the perfectionist tone of some of the prayers, the phrase "lambs and wolves" (i. 36 etc.), the striking prayer for the blessing of oil in which the Paraclete is mentioned (i. 24), the stress laid on fasting and on bearing the cross (*i.e.* not shrinking from meeting persecution), the severity with which post-baptismal sin is visited (i. 37), and the absence of any provision for penitents either as to place or rules of life, the dislike to second marriages, the references to the Apocalypse of St. John, the picture of the Church as a College of clergy and good women living together without family ties, and the strange Tertullianesque passage about the visible shape of souls in heaven (i. 40).' ('International Rev. of Theol.,' Berne, July 1900, p. 457.) These characteristics have led Mr. R. B. Rackham,[11] who has paid great attention to the classification of these books, to entitle the 'Testament' the 'Asian Church Order.'

I think we may accept this title, but with the reservation that the book as it stands must certainly have had a later revision in another locality, probably in Syria, and about A.D. 400, in which certain

[11] See his articles, 'The Origins of Canon Law' in the *Pilot*, 9 June 1900 (i. pp. 443 foll.), and 'The Syriac Testament of our Lord' in *Ind. Ch. Q. R.* Jan. and April 1901. The Montanist handling was suggested by Dom G. Morin in the *Revue Bénédictine* Jan. 1900.

Montanist features were obliterated or obscured, and others of a marked and different type added to them. I have elsewhere given reasons for attributing this final revision to the School of Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea, a short distance south of Antioch, who died about A.D. 390.[12]

The liturgical portion of this book is very interesting, but the prayers are very much interpolated, somewhat in the same degree as in the 'Apostolic Constitutions,' but in a different direction. The apocryphal pretence is thoroughly and audaciously carried out. The tone is that of highly-strung asceticism for the inner circle for which it was written—an ideal community somewhat of the type of Nicholas Ferrar's experiment in the religious life. It derives its name *Testament* from the pretence of being the revelation of our Lord to His Apostles after His resurrection. We find this title also given to a *part* of this book in the 'Arabic Didascalia,' viz. to the section here called 'Mystagogic Instruction' (ii. 28), a semi-Gnostic confession of faith to be taught particularly at the Easter festival. See below, p. 41.

The form in which this appears in the Arabic is more original than in the 'Testament of our Lord,' as may be seen by a comparison of the two in my

[12] See the article, already referred to, in the *Revue Internationale de Théologie*, July 1900, and one in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April 1900, '"The Testament of our Lord": its Connection with the School of Apollinarius of Laodicea,' vol. 50, pp. 1–29. Dr Harnack had, before I wrote, assigned the date A.D. 400 to the compilation, on the grounds of general internal evidence (*Sitzungsberichte der K. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, xlix. pp. 878–891, 1899).

article in the 'Int. Review of Theology,' and it seems to me therefore not improbable that the whole apocryphal scheme may have grown up from this central point. There is another remarkable point of contact between the 'Testament' and the 'Arabic Didascalia,' namely the description of a church. In both the Baptistery is planned as oblong; whereas such buildings are usually circular or polygonal. The 'Testament' measures its cubits by the 'complete number of the prophets,' 21, and that of the Apostles. The Arabic makes the first number 24, to answer to the Elders of the Apocalypse. If the 'Testament' is later than the 'Arabic Didascalia,' this is another evidence of the late date of the 'Testament'; for the Arabic (in Funk's opinion) is clearly after the compilation of the 'Apostolic Constitutions': see below, no. 4 at end.

Notwithstanding some obviously recent features in the 'Testament'—such as the mention of a chief deacon, the Festival of Epiphany (see below p. 400), and the development given to the ministry of women, both Presbyteresses and Deaconesses—there are a number of archaic touches in the 'Testament,' particularly in the Deacon's proclamations at the Eucharist, references to the continuance of the charismata, and to persecution, and the like, which permit us to consider great part of it to be Ante-Nicene (A.D. 250-325). An English version of it has been published (Sept. 1902) with notes by my friend Dr. James Cooper, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Glasgow, and Dean Maclean, late of the Archbishop's East Syrian Mission, which

will worthily extend the knowledge of this book. They put it about A.D. 350. For Funk's view see p. 108.

(*f*) Another very largely interpolated and developed form of these old rules, which nevertheless in its origin belongs to the same class, is that of the *Constitutiones per Hippolytum*, the name being perhaps due to its association in the MSS. with the Hippolytean Περὶ χαρισμάτων ('A. C.' viii. 1–2). This book is usually considered to be the first draft of the central and latter part of the eighth book of the 'Apostolic Constitutions,' to which it answers from ch. 4 onwards, but without the Antiochene Liturgy in ch. 5–15 and the daily and other services in ch. 35–41. This book was first edited by Fabricius in his 'Hippolytus,' i. 248–259, from a text prepared by Grabe from two manuscripts, Vindobonensis and Baroccianus (Oxon.) 26, and three times by Lagarde, viz. in his 'Reliquiae' etc. pp. 5–18, his 'Hippolytus,' pp. 73–89, and, together with the received text, in Bunsen's 'Analecta Ante-Nic.' ii. pp. 376 foll. Parallel portions may be found in Achelis, 'Canones Hippolyti,' but not in sufficient number to exhibit the whole relations of the books.

As regards the date, it can hardly be much, if at all, anterior to A.D. 375, the date usually now assigned to the compilation of the 'Constitutions': for it mentions Christmas as distinct from Epiphany (the Theophania), together with other older festivals, and the days of the Apostles and St. Stephen. It is the earliest document in which the rule is introduced for the ordination of a Bishop by one Bishop with two others while the Deacons hold the Gospels open over

the head of him who is being ordained—which thus seems to be an Antiochene rite. The Gospels no doubt represent our Lord's personal part in the action —a thought perhaps connected with the tradition of the *Edessene* Canons, of the invisible ordination of the Apostles; see below, p. 43. It is also the first in which a prayer is given for the laying of hands on a Deaconess. The ordination forms are less interpolated than in the *Apostolic Constitutions*: see below, p. 46.

3. Another almost independent and evidently popular book is the short treatise commonly called the *Apostolic Church Order* which has been preserved in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, and has been edited by a large number of Western scholars. In its manuscript forms it appears as part of some larger compilation or collection and it has not therefore escaped the interpolation to which such documents are liable. It begins with a formula which meets us in 'Barnabas,' 'Hail ye sons and daughters,' and ends with an anecdote about the sisters of Lazarus, Martha and Mary, which is adverse to the employment of women in any important ministry in the Church. Its first part consists of the 'Two Ways' as in the 'Didaché,' but divided up into sentences among the Apostles, a sign, of course, of date later than the 'Didaché.' It then gives orders for a Ministry of a Bishop and 2 or 3 Presbyters—referring to the 24 Elders of the Apocalypse, perhaps as the whole number in a city—a Reader, apparently 3 Deacons, and 3 Widows, two of whom are to be contemplative and to expect revelations, and one to be active as a

sicknurse etc. A half-begun section on the 'Oblation of the Body and the Blood' is cut short, and any attempt to introduce an order of Deaconesses is disallowed. Women are not even to stand in prayer like the rest, but to sit on the ground. The most noticeable points in the central part of this little book, which is probably older than the conclusion, are (1) the desire that the Bishop should be a celibate or a widower, a suggestion extended in some degree to Presbyters; (2) the high position given to the Reader before the Deacon, which implies a date for this part before Tertullian; (3) the reference to visions or revelations which the widows of the Church may expect, a trace perhaps, like the inclination to celibacy, of Montanist influence. There is reason, indeed, to think that this sect, though proscribed as heretical, exercised great, if secret, influence on the discipline of the Church which rejected it. The date of the final compilation of the 'Apostolic Church Order' is assigned by Harnack (who edited it with the 'Didaché') to about A.D. 300. It is the only one of these books in which St. John definitely takes the first place. This and Montanist leanings suggest a connection with some part of Asia Minor.

4. The *Didascalia* is the name now generally given to the old basis of the first six books of the 'Apostolic Constitutions,' which is found in Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic and to some extent in Latin in a fairly original form. Lagarde in 1854 made an attempt to recover the Greek by comparison of the interpolated form with the much shorter Syriac; and the 'Didascalia purior' so constituted is of some

importance. But the work, according to Mr. Burkitt, was hastily and imperfectly done, and further is not very easy of access. A new edition is much to be desired.[13]

The 'Didascalia' is rather a somewhat rambling discourse on Church life and society than a Church Order. In order to show its contents, I shall just summarise the matter of the Syriac 'Didascalia,' according to the divisions of books and chapters in the 'Constitutions' which are conveniently retained by Lagarde. The first book consists of precepts for the laity. The second is on the duties and rights of the clergy, Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons (High-priests, Priests and Levites, 25), but especially of Bishops, on Church courts (c. 47), and on the internal arrangement of a church (c. 57). The latter is interesting from its arrangement of the women behind the men, and not in a separate aisle, and from having no mention of Bema, Altar or Baptistery, or any reference to daily service. This is the most primitive description of a church that we possess. The third book is on Widows and on Baptism. Baptism by women is dissuaded on the ground that if it had been right, our Lord would have been baptised by His Mother and not by St. John (c. 9). A Deaconess, however, is to assist in the

[13] Lagarde's Syriac text was published separately. His Greek restoration is in Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. vi. (sometimes cited as *Analecta ante-Nicaena*, ii.), Lond. 1854. For a criticism on it see Funk, *Ap. Konst.* p. 41. The Verona palimpsest fragments edited by Hauler (Leipzig, 1900), to the 'canonical' part of which attention has already been drawn, will materially assist a new critical edition.

Baptism of women. The fourth book is on Orphans and their adoption by Churchmen. The fifth is on the care and honour due to Martyrs and Confessors, and on Christian festivals. The Sibyl is quoted, and the history of the Phoenix given as a type of the Resurrection. Sunday, though a feast, is not to be a day of disorderly pleasure. The Paschal fast is described at great length, and apparently contains a mixture of two inconsistent accounts, one making it six days (c. 15), the other nine (c. 18). The date is to be learnt, somewhat as in the 'Canons of Hippolytus,' by observing the Jewish Christians, 'your brethren who are of the people' (c. 17). The chronology of Holy Week is peculiar, and inconsistent with the Gospels. Our Lord ate the Passover on the Tuesday. That night He was taken; and on the Wednesday He remained in prison in the house of Caiaphas. On Thursday He was taken to Pilate, and remained in prison with him. On the Friday He was judged by Pilate and crucified. The 'three days and three nights' are explained by considering the darkness at the Passion as the first night, and the hours of daylight that followed as the second day. As regards the fast, it is rather fully developed, and this is a point against a very early date. Bread, salt and water may be taken on the first days in Holy Week. Friday and Saturday are to be complete fasts (c. 18). The Easter Eucharist is to be at the third hour of the night after the Sabbath (9 P.M. on Saturday, c. 19). No other feast is mentioned. Then follows, in an awkward position, a short chapter on the discipline

of children (= 'A. C.' iv. 11; see Funk, *l.c.* p. 36). The sixth book is on Heresies and Schisms. The only names of heretics mentioned are those of Simon Magus and Cleobius (c. 8); the heresies attributed to them are, not following the Law and the prophets, being at enmity with God Almighty and disobedient to Him, abstaining from certain meats and forbidding to marry, and not believing in the resurrection of the flesh, but imagining that spirits (*δαιμόνια*) would rise (c. 26). This section presupposes the legend of Simon Magus and St. Peter (c. 9). There is also an attack upon Jewish Mishnic and Judaeo-Christian traditions as to cleanness and uncleanness[14] (c. 22, 23, 27 foll.) from which, as from other indications, we may clearly gather that the book was written in Syria or Palestine. This section also contains one of the rare references to details of public worship:—'Gather together in the cemeteries, making there the reading of the holy books, and offer an acceptable Eucharist, both in your churches and in the cemeteries, and in the last offices (*ἐξόδοις*) of those who have fallen asleep' (c. 30: cp. Gangra c. 20). Much of the argument on ceremonial uncleanness shows good sense, and there is a similar opposition to austerity in the rules about discipline and penitence which may be anti-Montanist. There is no

[14] *Δευτέρωσις* (in Hauler's fragments 'secundatio') is a rendering of the Hebrew 'Mishna.' Its founders and expounders were called 'Tanaites,' apparently from 'Matnita,' the Aramaic form of Mishna. See Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, iv. 17, 91, and notes 2 and 11, ed. 2, 1866. He quotes St. Jerome on Isaiah iii. 14, xxix. 21 etc. to show that the name *δευτερωταί* was given to these Jewish doctors by the Nazarenes.

sufficient evidence that it is anti-Novatian. The date is somewhere between A.D. 200 and 250.

The 'Syriac Didascalia' was clearly a translation from the Greek. The Latin fragments edited by Hauler frequently refer to the original words. They are very important for the reconstruction of the text, though, in my opinion, much interpolated.

The 'Arabic Didascalia' is described by Funk, who gives a list of the chapter headings, with references to the parallels in the longer form ('Ap. Konst.' pp. 222–4, 1891). The parts answering to the 'Syriac Didascalia' are contained in the first thirty-four chapters, generally but not always in the same order. Chapter 35 (of which Funk gives only a summary) contains a description of a church which, as I have already said, is like that in the 'Testament of our Lord,' i. 19. Chapters 36–39 are translated by Socin. Chapter 36 is on the ordination of a Bishop. He may be married. All the Bishops present are to lay hands on him and say a declaratory prayer. The first Bishop shall then lay his hand on him and say the consecration prayer. This is an expansion of that in the 'Roman Church Order' at great length, in which the personal name of the new Bishop is three times mentioned. Chapter 37 is on the hours of prayer for a Bishop, of which nine are named. Chapter 38 is on the Bishop's fasting, much as in the 'Testament of our Lord'; in it some account of the Liturgy is given. This Liturgy appears to be allied to the Egyptian, and it is so treated by Brightman in his careful arrangement of it in his Appendix R,

which shows its points of contact with the Coptic St. Mark. One of the most remarkable points in it is the ritual use of incense which is part of the Prothesis or preparation of the oblations :—'And the Presbyter shall bring the bread and chalice of the Eucharist. And the Bishop shall bring the incense and go round about the altar three times, in honour of the holy Trinity ; and he shall hand the censer to the Presbyter, and he shall go round with it to the congregation' (Brightman, p. 510). The Coptic St. Mark has a prayer concerning the offering of incense on the altar during the Mass of the Catechumens (p. 150). The high position given to women at the consecration, within the veil, is, I think, peculiar to the 'Arabic Didascalia' and to the 'Testament of our Lord' : 'And so the Bishop shall consecrate, the veil being let down, and the Presbyters and the Deacons and the Subdeacons being within. And the Subdeacons and the Reader, and the Widows who are Deaconesses and have spiritual gifts, and the Bishop shall stand at the altar, and the Deacons shall be around him, and shall fan with fans and linens (acmîsât) like the wings of the cherubim, and the Presbyters standing with him, and so the whole of the clergy in their order.' This position of women does not appear to be Egyptian but Asian and, in a measure, Syrian. Cp. the Canons of Laodicea 19 and 44, evidently directed against this practice. Chapter 39 is entitled 'the Mystagogia of Jesus Christ our God.' 'The faithful shall lift it up before the holy Liturgy, the Testament (Vermächtnis) which

He hath taught to the holy Apostles.' This, as I have said, is a curious semi-Gnostic confession of faith. Indeed, the Gnostic 'Acts of Peter' ('Mart. Petri,' pp. 90, 92) are used in the part about the cross ('T. D.' i. 28, p. 63). It seems to have been intended to be taught by the Bishop and recited after him by the people—much as the Creed is now recited in the Liturgy, and with something of the same kind of intention. It reminds us at times of the *Te Deum* and at times of the *Quicunque vult*; but it is expressed with much Oriental diffuseness. It is closely similar to, and generally verbally identical with, that in the 'Testament of our Lord,' i. 28, and its title of 'Testament' suggests that it may be the kernel from which the apocryphal pretence of that book has grown. It is, however, in a more original form, and therefore (as far as this chapter is concerned) the 'Arabic Didascalia' is older than the 'Testament.' Funk is clear that the 'Arabic' is a compilation later than the 'Apostolic Constitutions.' This gives us somewhere between A.D. 375–400 for its date, the latter being the approximate date which we assign to the 'Testament.'

I have here, and in speaking of the 'Testament,' anticipated something that belongs more correctly to the head of 'Compilations'; but it seemed difficult to separate these chapters from the rest of the 'Arabic Didascalia.'

These four types, the *Didaché*, the *Lost Church Order* with its six subordinate forms, the *Apostolic Church Order*, and the *Didascalia*, form a group of generally Ante-Nicene books, and supply the chief

materials from which later large compilations are made up. But there are two other collections of 'Canons' which also ought to be mentioned as logically intermediate between the Church Orders and the compilations.

5. The first is the set of *Apostolic Canons*[15] which is the only one of these books that has any recognised position in the Catholic Church. It cannot be earlier than A.D. 341, the date usually assigned to the Council of Antioch, from which some twenty of its canons are taken, and with which city its origin may reasonably be connected, since it clearly emanates from the same school as the 'Apostolic Constitutions.' Indeed Mr. Brightman assigns it to the same compiler ('Eastern Lit.' p. xxv). It is also held to be probable that the points of contact with the 'Apostolic Constitutions' and the Councils of Laodicea (of uncertain date) and Constantinople (381 and 394) are due to the same relation, and therefore the collection cannot be dated much before A.D. 400. It is not definitely noticed in history until *circa* A.D. 500, when the first fifty of its Canons were translated by Dionysius Exiguus, and so found their way, to a great extent, into the law books of the Latin Church. The collection, however, has never had the positive recognition in the

[15] A short and good summary of the questions connected with this collection is given by Dr. Fr. Lauchert, *Die Kanones der Altkirchlichen Concilien*, p. xiii foll., Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig, 1896. See for more details Funk, *Ap. Konst.* pp. 180–206, and Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, p. xxiv foll. Eighteen of the *Ap. Canons* are said to be taken from the *Constitutions*, see Funk, p. 188 foll.

West which it has received in the East, where the Trullan Council, A.D. 692, gave canonical authority to its full number of eighty-five canons, though rejecting the 'Clementine Constitutions' which are referred to with approval in the last.

6. The *Edessene Canons*.—These are contained in a Nitrian MS. selected by Cureton entitled 'The Doctrine of the Apostles through Addaeus' (Lagarde, 'Reliquiae,' pp. 89–95, and 'Ante-Nicene Chr. Lib.' vol. xx.: 'Syriac Documents,' pp. 35–49). The old apocryphal pretence of assigning individual rules to individual Apostles is not here adopted, but the preface is like a piece of an apocryphal 'Acts,' in which 'Simon Cephas' takes the lead. Ascension day and the day of Pentecost are identified and made to fall on a Sunday, fifty days after the Passion. The ordination of the Apostles is explained to have taken place by the laying of our Lord's hands upon them on the Mount of Olives, while He was invisibly present.[16] He was seen by them, however, at the moment of His ascension. Then they returned to the upper room where He had instituted the mystery of the body and the blood, and were (at once) prepared for their mission by the gift of tongues, each receiving the tongue of the country to which he was to go. The 'New Testament' is mentioned, but apparently a Gospel, or rather a Gospel-harmony, is meant ('A.-N. C. L.' xx. pp. 24, 25). St. Luke is spoken of as the writer of the Acts, but none of

[16] This was probably an inference from the statement of the Acts i. 3, that our Lord was *seen* during *forty* days.

St. Paul's Epistles are referred to, and his name is only mentioned twice quite incidentally. The first rule is 'Pray ye towards the East.' Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday-afternoon, are to be days for public worship, but the 'oblation' is only assigned to Sunday (2). The ministry consists of Elders (Presbyters), Deacons, Subdeacons, and a Guide (Dûqa = Dux, *ἡγούμενος*), *i.e.* a Bishop (5). The festivals referred to are Epiphany, a fast of forty days before the Passion, the days of the Passion and Resurrection, and then fifty days ending with the Ascension (6, 7, 9). In church the Gospel is to be read last and heard standing (8).

There is a tendency—not very common in these books—to limit the authority of the 'Guide' or Bishop, who is not to act apart from those who minister with him (17). Commemorations are to be made of those who suffer death for Christ (18). The Post-Nicene date of the collection is proved by the reference to the privilege of Christian kings to 'go up and stand before the altar' (25). After the twenty-seven canons comes a description of the preaching of the Apostles, and of the teachers after them, with incidental mention of the names of those whose writings are to be read in church. In this list Matthew, Jude, and Paul are omitted, while Andrew and Judas Thomas are included—the two latter being no doubt represented by apocryphal writings. The 'New' Testament is mentioned as well as the 'Old,' but evidently as something distinct from the Epistles and probably from the Acts. It means apparently

'the Gospel,' and the absence of the name of St. Matthew suggests that it was a harmony based upon that Gospel—like that of Ammonius. The book ends with a Christian geography describing the countries evangelised by each Apostle. It may reasonably be ascribed to the first half of the fourth century.

Compilations: Apostolic Constitutions; Syrian Octateuch; Egyptian Heptateuch; Verona Latin Fragments; Arabic Didascalia.

7. We must lastly give a short account of the *Compilations*, of which the most famous is the *Apostolic Constitutions*. This is also clearly a Syrian production, apparently composed in Antioch, somewhere about A.D. 375, a date to which many indications lead us, and in particular the mention of the Western Christmas, which we know from St. Chrysostom was introduced into that city about that time. The evidence is well and conveniently summarised by Mr. Brightman in his 'Eastern Liturgies,' pp. xxiv–xxix, resting largely on the evidence collected and arranged by Funk.

The compiler of the 'Constitutions' was a theologian of as marked views as the interpolator of the 'Testament of our Lord,' but belonging to a very different and probably antagonistic school. He has been identified with the interpolator of the genuine and the composer of the forged Epistles of St. Ignatius. In theology he was neither an Arian nor an Apollinarian, but he had a tendency to assign an undue subordination to the Son of God, and he did

not believe in the fulness of His nature. In practice he was averse to rigour and to both Jewish and heretical (Montanist or Novatian) forms of asceticism. He was well versed in Scripture, but somewhat feeble and mediocre in his expositions, and diffuse and wordy in style. There seems no sufficient reason to distinguish the editor of books i.–vi. from that of vii. and viii.

The summary already given of the 'Didascalia' (see above, no. 4, p. 36) will afford some idea of the contents of the first *six* books, though they are much altered and enlarged, and, so to say, brought up to date by the editor, *e.g.* daily public service is prescribed. The seventh and eighth books are made up from other sources treated as freely as the 'Didascalia.' The *seventh* book begins with an expansion of the 'Didaché' (c. 1–32), but it also includes much other liturgical matter, especially bearing on Baptism and Confirmation. The Sabbath as well as the Lord's Day is now, as generally in the East, determined to be a feast (c. 23). The book concludes with a list of Bishops ordained by the Apostles (c. 46), and with forms for Morning and Evening Prayer and grace before meat (c. 47–49). The *eighth* book consists of several distinct treatises loosely tied together. The first, 'On Spiritual Gifts,' may be based on the lost writing of Hippolytus (c. 1, 2). It is a sort of sermon, intended to keep those who are gifted in their proper place. Then (after a transition chapter) comes the tract 'On Ordinations' (Περὶ χειροτονιῶν) answering to the first part of the 'Lost Church Order'

('C. H.'), much interpolated, and including the Antiochene Liturgy as said at the consecration of a Bishop (c. 4–27: the Liturgy is c. 5–15). Then comes a third tract, consisting of rules or canons on various subjects (c. 28–46) usually called Περὶ κανόνων. This answers to the latter part of the 'Lost Church Order' arranged somewhat differently. The chief subjects are the blessing of oil and water (28), on first-fruits and tithes (29); on distribution of oblations among the clergy (30); on the admission to Baptism of certain classes (31); on the Christian week—the Sabbath as well as Sunday to be a day of rest—and Christian festivals, the 'Great Week,' Ascension, Christmas, Theophania, Apostles. St. Stephen (32); on hours of prayer—Mattins, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Cockcrow—to be said publicly or privately (33); important and full accounts of Vespers (34–36) and Mattins (37–39), offering of first-fruits (40) and service for the departed (41 foll.). There is a warning as to temperance at memorial feasts (44, 45) and an assertion of the rights of the three orders of clergy and their relation to one another (46). For some further remarks on this part of the book see above, no. 2 (*f*), *Constitutiones per Hippolytum*. The 'Apostolic Canons' form an Appendix or ninth book.

8. The *Syrian Octateuch*, to give it the name introduced by Lagarde, is still unfortunately incompletely known to us. It has no 'Didaché' element, and it has forms of the 'Lost Church Order,' and 'Apostolic Ch. O.' instead of the 'Didascalia.' I have already given some account of the character

of the first two books into which the 'Testament of our Lord' is divided. It is a purely artificial division in order to make up the number of books to eight, in imitation probably of the 'Apostolic Constitutions.' The Church Order has prefixed to it an Apocalyptic prelude, the main part of which seems to have been written A.D. 250 at the time of the great persecution of Decius. The third book is a version of the 'Apostolic Church Order' (above, no. 3, p. 34). The fourth is the little treatise Περὶ χαρισμάτων which is found in 'Ap. Const.' viii. 1, 2. The fifth is the treatise Περὶ χειροτονιῶν ('Ap. C.' viii. 4–27 without the Liturgy = 'Const. per Hipp.' 1–15); the sixth and seventh contain the Περὶ κανόνων, the remainder of the shorter form of this book. The eighth consists of the 'Apostolic Canons.' (See the contents from MS. Sangerm. 38 in Lagarde's 'Reliquiae,' p. xvii.) From this last fact it would appear that the earliest date of the collection must be that which we assign to the 'Apostolic Canons,' viz. *circa* A.D. 400, a date which we have seen reason to assign to the present form of the 'Testament of our Lord' on wholly independent grounds. It would also appear that the 'Testament' is by far the most important part of the book, seeing that books 3–7 are only another form of 'Ap. C.' viii., based indeed, like the 'Testament' itself, on the lost Church Order, but treated in a different manner. So that really we have two forms of the same thing both in the 'Syrian Octateuch' and the 'Egyptian Heptateuch.'

9. The *Egyptian Heptateuch* is another book of

closely similar substance, in slightly different order, and, like the Syrian collection, a sort of imitation of the 'Constitutions' with the 'Ap. Ch. O.' and without the 'Didaché' and 'Didascalia.' It is in seven books, but there are traces of an intention to make them eight. The first is the 'Apostolic Church Order'; the second, as we have seen above, 2 (*c*), is the 'Egyptian Church Order.' The third is the Hippolytean treatise 'On Spiritual Gifts.' The fourth is the Περὶ χειροτονιῶν of the 'Constitutiones per Hippolytum.' The fifth and sixth answer roughly to the remainder of that book (Περὶ κανόνων), but without the prayers. The seventh is the 'Apostolic Canons.' Thus the contents of the 'Syrian Octateuch' and the 'Egyptian Heptateuch' differ mainly in this, that the 'Testament,' divided into two books, comes first in the Syriac, while the 'E. Ch. O.,' which generally covers the same ground, but more shortly, comes second in the Heptateuch. We must suppose that the books are arranged in both cases on the same principle. First would come a book claiming to be dictated by our Lord; then that by the Apostles; then the Order of the local Church; then the works attributed to a great Father (Hippolytus), and lastly canons of Councils.

Two other compilations have been already incidentally described: the first about A.D. 350, represented by the Verona Latin Fragments (see p. 26 foll.); the second about A.D. 400, of which the *Arabic Didascalia* forms the principal part (see p. 39 foll.).

The table which follows will exhibit the composition of all these books at a glance.

Separate Works (as far as possible in chronological order).	Compilations. *Apostolic Constitutions.*	*Syrian Octateuch.*	*Egyptian Heptateuch.*
1. Didaché	Bk. 7. Didache[5] etc.		
2. Lost Church Order			
a. Roman Ch. O. (Can. Hipp. Arab.)			
b. Egypt. Ch. O. (Eth.)			Bk. 2. Egyptian Ch. O.
c. „ „ (Coptic)			
d. Verona Latin fragments part 3[17]			
e. Asian Ch. O. (Test. Domini)		Bk. 1, 2. Testamentum Domini	
f. Constitutiones per Hippolytum [preceded by the περὶ χαρισμάτων]	Bk. 8. περὶ χαρισμάτων c. 1, 2.	Bk. 4. περὶ χαρισμάτων	Bk. 3. περὶ χαρισμάτων
(1) περὶ χειροτονιῶν (1–15)	περὶ χειροτονιῶν c. 4–27	Bk. 5. περὶ χειροτονιῶν	Bk. 4. περὶ χειροτονιῶν
(2) περὶ κανόνων (16–26)[18]	περὶ κανόνων c. 28–46, c. 32, 1–104	Bk. 6, 7. περὶ κανόνων	Bk. 5, 6. περὶ καθίσεων
3. Apostolic Church Order		Bk. 3. Ap. Ch. O.	Bk. 1. Ap. Ch. O.
4. Didascalia purior (Syriac, Latin, Arabic)[19]	Bk. 1–6½ Didascalia		
5. Apostolic Canons (Antiochene) *circa* A.D. 400	Appendix] Ap. Canons	Bk. 8. Ap. Canons	Bk. 7. Ap. Canons
6. Edessene Canons (Doctrine of Addaeus) *circa* A.D. 325–350			

[17] The Verona Latin fragments are evidently a portion of another type of compilation, in which (1) the *Didascalia* was followed by (2) the *Apostolic Church Order* and then (3) by a form of the *Lost Church Order*. See p. 26 foll.

[18] Chapter 20 of this book = *Ap. C.* viii. 32, 1–10 answers to the seventh book of the Syrian and the sixth of the Egyptian compilation.

[19] The Arabic compilation consisted (as far as we know) of the *Didascalia* followed by selections from a form of the *Lost Church Order* closely allied to that in the *Testament of our Lord*

Other books.—Egyptian: Summary of Doctrine; Prayer-book of Sarapion; Maxims of Nicene Synod &c.—Syrian: on Virginity; Pilgrimage of Silvia. —Gallican Statutes. Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.

Other books which give an insight into the inner life of the early Church and its services are, for Egypt: the *Summary of Doctrine*, dated about A.D. 300; the *Prayer-book of Sarapion*, about A.D. 350; the so-called *Maxims of the Nicene Synod*, about A.D. 400, and *the* 106 *Canons of Basil*, composed perhaps about A.D. 450 for use in Egypt. The *Treatise on Virginity*, about A.D. 400, and the so-called *Pilgrimage of Silvia*, which is a few years earlier, concern Syria. The *Gallican Statutes* and the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, *c.* A.D. 500, also deserve notice.

10. The *Summary of Doctrine* is a short treatise addressed to Christians in general, which the diligence of scholars has discovered imbedded in a 'Syntagma Doctrinae' addressed to Solitaries, printed in the works of St. Athanasius. It may be found, in its short form, in the 'Studia Patristica' of Dr. Pierre Batiffol (fasc. 2, pp. 11–160, Leroux, Paris, 1890). He acknowledges his obligations to Dr. Rendel Harris and Professor Warfield, who gave the hints which he has followed in unearthing this older document. The little book is itself largely based on the 'Didaché.' Its date is fixed to about A.D. 300 by internal evidence. The references to Epiphany and Holy Week and the forty days of Lent show that it cannot well be earlier. The facts that the heresy most reprobated is Marcionite fasting

on Saturdays and Sundays, and that there is no reference to the Meletian schism (*circa* A.D. 306), or to Arianism, make it difficult to put it later. The text only occupies about two 8vo pages of small print (pp. 150–154, deducting notes). There is no reference in it to any order of clergy, except that of the ἱερεύς, no doubt the Bishop, so that it does not belong to Alexandria, where City Presbyters were influential. The 'Priest' is to be specially careful whose offerings he accepts. Rules are given for avoiding heathen feasts etc., and with regard to catechumens, but there is no hint of persecution.

11. *Sarapion's Prayer-book* or *Sacramentary* (as Mr. Brightman prefers to call it) is one of the most remarkable liturgical discoveries of the last century. It was first noticed by a Russian scholar, Demetrevsky, but it is best known from the edition of Dr. G. Wobbermin, who copied it from a MS. at Mount Athos ('Texte und Untersuchungen,' N.F. ii. 3 B. 1899). A translation into English, with notes, was edited by myself in June 1899 (S.P.C.K.), and the Greek was elaborately and accurately edited, with valuable notes, by Mr. Brightman in the 'Journal of Theological Studies' (October 1899 and January 1900). It has all the appearance of being what it purports to be, viz. the Liturgy used in the Church of Thmuis in the Delta, about A.D. 350, part of which was written by the Bishop of that see, who has the honour of being known in history as the trusted colleague of the great champion of the Catholic faith, Athanasius. Its most striking features

are the consecration prayer at the Eucharist and that for the ordination of Presbyters. The Eucharistic prayer offers the Bread and the Cup as the likeness (*ὁμοίωμα*) of the Body and Blood of Christ. It then recites our Saviour's acts and words of Institution—interpolating between them a quotation from the 'Didaché,' about the bread being scattered on the mountains, and adding a prayer that the holy Church gathered out of every nation and every country and every city and village and house may be made 'one living Catholic Church.' Then follows a remarkable Invocation that the Word or Logos may 'come' (*ἐπιδημησάτω*) upon the Bread, that the Bread may become Body of the Word, and upon the Cup, that the Cup may become Blood of the Truth, 'and make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness and for the strengthening of all advancement and virtue' etc. The Lord's Prayer is not definitely mentioned, but may possibly be implied in a rubric.

The ordination prayer for Presbyters does not contain the name of Priest or Presbyter, Sacrifice or Sacrament, and therefore directly falls short of the requirement made by Leo XIII. in his Bull 'Apostolicae curae' addressed to the people of England. It is so important that it may be given at length.[20]

[20] A different form, but even balder in its simplicity, is found in the *Egyptian* (*Ethiopic*) *Church Order*: see above, p. 24-5, and cp. the Bull *Apost. Curae* (1896), § 7, and *Responsio Archiepiscoporum Angliae*, Appendix, notes 3 and 4 (Longmans, 1897), and *Sarapion*, S.P.C.K. p. 51. It may be given here for the purpose of comparison, as it is based on the same thought that the seventy elders, chosen

No. 13. '*Laying on of hands of the making of Presbyters.* We stretch forth the hand, O Lord God of the heavens, Father of thy only-begotten, upon this man, and beseech thee that the Spirit of truth may come (ἐπιδημήσῃ) upon him. Give him the grace of prudence and knowledge and a good heart. Let a divine spirit come to be in him that he may be able to be a steward of thy people and an ambassador of thy divine oracles, and to reconcile thy people to thee the uncreated God, who didst give of the spirit of Moses upon the chosen ones, even holy Spirit. Give a portion of holy Spirit also to this man, from the Spirit of thy only-begotten, for the grace of wisdom and knowledge and right faith, that he may be able to serve thee in a clean conscience [1 Tim. iii. 9] through thy only-begotten Jesus Christ, through whom to thee [is] the glory and the strength in holy Spirit both now and for all the ages of the ages. Amen.'

by Moses, were the precursors of the Christian Presbyterate—a thought which is also contained in the old and existing Roman form of ordination. It runs thus: 'My God, the Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, look down upon this thy servant and impart to him the spirit of grace and the will of holiness, that he may direct the people with purity of heart. As thou lookedst upon thy chosen people and commandedst Moses to choose elders (Presbyters), whom thou filledst with the spirit which thou grantedst to thy servant and minister Moses: so now, my Lord, give to this thy servant the inestimable grace and preserve to us the gift of thy Spirit and our portion, while thou fillest our heart with piety to glorify thee in sincerity, through thy Son Jesus Christ, by whom be glory and might to thee, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, in thy holy Church, both now and for ever and for ages of ages. Amen.' And all the people shall say, 'Amen and Amen. It is meet!'

12. (*a*) The *Maxims of the Nicene Synod* are merely an Egyptian Church Order mixed with a considerable amount of didactic and edifying matter. The book exists in two Coptic MSS., one at Turin and one in the Borgian collection at Rome. It is well described by Professor H. Achelis, translated with notes, by Mr. W. E. Crum, in the 'Journal of Theol. Studies,' ii. pp. 121–129, 1900. It is rather an exhortation to be zealous in using existing institutions than a set of rules for creating them. It contains precepts for ordinary life, as well as for that of female ascetics, who are described as 'brides of Christ.' The date is apparently about A.D. 400. The tendency towards cultus of the saints—seen *e.g.* in the phrase 'belief in God and His saints'—and the development of legends about the Blessed Virgin, and the absence of any direct penitential discipline or reference to inconvenience from heathenism, mark a date probably quite as late as this, if it does not belong to the fifth century. One point of connection with Egypt is the exhortation to come early to church so as to hear both the lessons and psalms—for lessons at the daily office were not in use in Syria. See below, Chapter VI, pp. 341, 343.

(*b*) The 106 *Canons of Basil*, first made known by Riedel, 'K. R. Q. Alexandriens' pp. 232–263, are a carefully compiled Church Order worthy of special treatment. See Appendix B, pp. 445–451.

13. The treatise *On Virginity*, printed in the works of St. Athanasius, is about the same date as the 'Maxims of the Nicene Synod,' or rather earlier,

and represents a picture of the life of Christian Virgins, not yet subject to monastic rule, just as the 'Maxims' do, but apparently for Syria, not for Egypt. This seems to follow from the agreement of the rules about hours and forms of devotion with some of those that are given in the 'Apostolic Constitutions': see below, Ch. V. The date, as I have implied, is about A.D. 400; for the use of the term Theotókos for the Mother of our Lord, and the rules just referred to, forbid us to place it much if at all earlier. The Virgin (like those described in the 'Maxims') is united to the Heavenly Bridegroom (ch. 2), but she still lives at home and not in community. She is to fast every day up to the ninth hour (3 P.M.), and then to abstain from animal food (ch. 8). She may, however, drink wine when she is sick, or when others do so, so as not to appear singular (ch. 12 and 22). Her under-dress is to be dark or of natural undyed colour or brown. Her cowl (*μαφόριον*) is to be without fringes, and of the same colour. She is to have woollen sleeves covering the arms up to the fingers, her hair cut short, and bound with a woollen fillet; her cloak is also to be without fringes (ch. 11). She may wash her face, hands and feet, but is not to use a public bath without necessity (ch. 11). When a holy man comes to visit her family she is to wash his feet (ch. 22).

The quotation of the 'Didaché' in this book has long been observed (ch. 13), but it is noticeable that the 'Canons of Hippolytus' seem also to be used in

the account of the Virgin's private devotions (ch. 12). Another point in the description of her prayers at sunset, the twelfth hour, gives an opportunity for quoting the striking address of Hades to our Lord on the occasion of His descent into Hell (ch. 16), which is enlarged upon also in the 'Gospel of Nicodemus,' in the Mystagogic Instruction of the 'Testament of our Lord' and the 'Arabic Didascalia,' as well as in the Easter Eve Sermon attributed to St. Epiphanius.

14. A much more interesting and instructive book, dating about A.D. 385—and, like the 'Prayer-book of Sarapion,' a discovery of the last century—is what is usually called the *Pilgrimage of Silvia*. It was discovered in 1884 at Arezzo, and first edited by its discoverer, J. F. Gamurrini, in 1887. It describes the journey of a Gallic lady of devout life—a member in fact of a sisterhood—to the holy Places, in the reign of Theodosius the Great. The name is merely conjectural, but convenient. The authoress was at first tentatively identified with Silvia daughter of Rufinus; but later critics think that our pilgrim was not sufficiently learned to be the real Silvia, who could read the Fathers in Greek. Whoever she was, she knew the Bible well, and was a very accurate and quick observer; and she shows much ability in describing the rites and ordinances of the churches which she visited, especially of the Anastasis or holy Sepulchre. The references to the 'Apotactitae,' male and female, sometimes called 'Monazontes' and 'Parthenae,' come in very well to illustrate the early

history of these ascetics, whose devotions were the centre of the daily offices of the Church.[21]

15. Another book worth mentioning, which, like the last, is in Latin, is one which has often misled students, under the idea that it contained canons of the fourth Council of Carthage. It is really a collection of Church Orders and Canons, with Eastern affinities, in use in Southern Gaul, probably in the province and neighbourhood of Arles, about A.D. 500. Scholars now generally cite it according to a name given to it in several manuscripts as *Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua*.[22]

We may perhaps do well to call it the *Gallican Statutes*, as a reminder that it has nothing to do with Africa. It, or some similar body of Gallican customs, has had the effect of producing considerable changes in the Roman Ordinal, in which a number of sections from it are quoted. I may mention the custom of holding the Gospel book over the head of a Bishop—no doubt as a reminder that the ordination was the act of our Lord Himself (no. 3)—which is mentioned first in the 'Constitutiones per Hippolytum': see above, pp. 33, 43. The next rule joins the Presbyters with the Bishop in laying hands on a Presbyter at his ordination, according to our own custom. This is one of several indications of a wish

[21] Duchesne has printed the liturgical part of this book as an Appendix to his *Origines*. The whole is conveniently edited by Geyer, with indices, in his *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (Vienna, 1898).

[22] This title is given as an alternative in Bruns, and also as a headline. For the statement in the text see Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 337.

to check the isolated power of a Bishop : *e.g.* no. 22, which forbids him to ordain clerks without the counsel of his own clerks. The ordination of a Subdeacon by the delivery of an empty paten and chalice (no. 5) is the starting-point of all the Roman practice and the scholastic doctrine of the necessity of the '*traditio instrumentorum*.' Another Eastern rule is that (no. 36) about Rectors of churches (*presbyteri qui per dioeceses ecclesias regunt*) sending for chrism before Pascha from their Bishops, implying that Presbyteral Confirmation was in use at that time in Gaul, as we know it was from other evidence. There is no evidence as to general forms of public worship, except it be the formula of appointing a Psalmist by a Presbyter with these words : 'Vide ut quod ore cantas, corde credas, et quod corde credis operibus comprobes,' which has passed into our familiar vestry prayer (no. 10).

16. A review of this generally pseudonymous literature may fitly close with a short notice of a Church Order which forms part of a system of philosophy, the treatise *On Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* which bears the name of 'Dionysius the Areopagite.' The series of remarkable books to which it belongs has had more influence on Greek and Latin theology than any other apocryphal production—and this not merely because of its supposed authorship by a companion of the Apostles, but on account both of its philosophical form and its fulness of thought.

Like the greater part of the books described in this section, the 'Ecclesiastical Hierarchy' seems to be of

Syrian origin. [Bp.] Westcott suggests that it is from Edessa or the school of Edessa. It seems to have been composed some time between A.D. 470 and 500.[23]

The 'Ecclesiastical Hierarchy' is written in an artificial Platonising style, with an affected terminology drawn partly from philosophy, partly from the usage of the heathen mysteries. The two Dionysian keywords, 'Hierarchy,' to represent an ascending and descending scale of being, and 'Unity,' the aim of all things in respect to God, are of course naturally prominent in it. Everything is, as far as possible, arranged in triads. The mysteries described have their origin in the Divine Trinity; their aim is union with God—the 'deification' of man—by the three ways which rise one above another, the ways of cleansing, illuminating, and perfecting. This

[23] See B. F. Westcott, 'Dionysius the Areopagite' in the *Contemporary Review* for May 1867, vol. 5, p. 7. This article gives an appreciative account of the whole Dionysian literature. See also Professor Joseph Langen's 'Die Schule des Hierotheos' in *Rev. Int. de Théologie* for Jan.–March 1894, vol. 2, p. 42, who suggests the reign of Julian *c.* A.D. 360 as the date. But the ritual indications do not agree, such as the use of incense and, above all, the recitation of the Creed in the Liturgy, which was introduced by Peter the Fuller, Patriarch of Antioch, 469-488. Cp. Brightman, *Eastern Lit.* p. liii. and App. E, pp. 487–490, for the Liturgy. Mr. Brightman credits me, by an oversight, with the authorship of the article on Dionysius in the *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, which is by Mr. J. H. Lupton. The use of the Dionysian writings in the commentary on the Apocalypse by Andrew of Caesarea and Arethas, and the reference to their author as the 'Areopagitic' by the Monophysite Severus, *circa* A.D. 517, forbid us to date the books much after A.D. 500. The care with which the Apocryphal pretence is maintained is visible in the use of the name 'Jesus' (not 'Jesus Christ') and the absence of any reference, as far as I have observed, to any order of the ministry but Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons.

general thought is expressed in the first of the seven chapters. The rest in each case describe a 'Mystery,' with a 'Contemplation' (*θεωρία*) or mystical comment following the description. The six form (it would seem) two triads, the first three being the three Sacraments generally applicable to mankind—Baptism, Communion and the consecration and use of Chrism (*μύρον*). The second three are consecration of Priests, consecration of Monks, and consecration (as we may call it) of the departed. This scheme of the Sacraments, artificial as it is, has had, I think, the advantage of preventing the Greeks, who value 'Dionysius' greatly, from attaching too much weight to the sevenfold Western scholastic division.

C. 2 is on 'Illumination' (*φωτισμός*) or Baptism. The rite described includes a consecration of the water and a pouring of ointment into the font. The trine immersion is treated as a symbol of our Lord's three days and nights' burial. C. 3 is on the 'Synaxis' or Communion, the ritual of which is carefully summarised by Mr. Brightman (App. E). It begins with incense, at the altar, round the Church and back to the altar. The use of a Creed, called *Καθολικὴ Ὑμνολογία*, implies a date after A.D. 470 for the book. The general character of the rite is Syrian. C. 4 is on 'the Unguent' (*τὸ Μύρον*), *i.e.* the consecration and use of Chrism, which is the highest of these three Mysteries—the mystery of perfection. In § 11 its administration after Baptism is called *τελειωτικὴ χρίσις*—a phrase adopted by Bp. Jeremy Taylor as the first title of his 'Discourse on Confirmation' ('Works,

ed. Heber, vol. xi. pp. 229 foll.). In § 12 the consecration of the sanctuary (*θυσιαστήριον*) with Chrism is referred to. C. 5 is on 'Priestly Consecrations.' They are threefold, answering to the three great methods. 'Hierarchs,' *i.e.* Bishops, have the power of perfecting; 'Priests' (*ἱερεῖς*) that of illuminating; and 'Ministers' (*λειτουργοί*), *i.e.* Deacons, that of cleansing. Their co-operation in these three powers is illustrated by their different functions in Baptism. The ceremonies of Ordination are kneeling, with some slight differences of method, on the part of the recipients, and imposition of hands with prayer and the sign of the cross, and proclamation of the name and office conferred, on that of the ministers. Further, the book of the 'divinely-delivered oracles' is held over the head of the 'Hierarch,' to show the fulness of the powers of word and work conferred upon him. C. 6 is on the consecration of Monks. They stand to receive it, not kneeling as the clergy do. They make a profession, receive the sign of the cross and tonsure, and a special dress, and then communicate. This reference to tonsure, for monks and not for clergy, is probably a mark of the date assigned above to these writings, the latter part of the fifth century.

Lastly, c. 7 is on the service for those who have fallen asleep. It is described as consisting of Lessons and Psalms, a litany by the 'first of the ministers' (*i.e.* the Archdeacon), a prayer for the departed by the 'Hierarch,' who also salutes him (with the kiss of peace), as do all others who are present, and then anoints him and buries him. The future state of good

monks is described as superior to that of ordinary Christians. The book ends with a warning not to divulge the consecratory prayers, and a defence of infant baptism. Cp. 'Canons of Basil' below, p. 451.

In the burial-service the kissing and anointing of the corpse stand very much alone. The former practice is forbidden by the 12th canon of Auxerre, generally dated A.D. 578. The latter stands much on a par with other forbidden ceremonies, such as baptising the dead and putting the Eucharist in their mouths.

II. Kalendars of Festivals

I shall say but few words on this subject, but they will not be without interest. It is a matter of general knowledge that for the first three centuries the development of the system of Christian festivals was very slow. From the earliest times indeed Sunday was observed as a weekly festival. Early in the second century we meet with Wednesday and Friday as weekly fasts, as in the 'Didaché.' We can also infer (from St. Irenaeus ap. Eus. *H.E.* v. 24) the existence of a Paschal moveable feast as early as the time of Pope Xystus (*circa* A.D. 120) preceded by a strict fast of one or two days. An observance of the fifty days of Pentecost is also early (third century). The rudiments of a Kalendar are therefore found in the Paschal cycle of Hippolytus in the first quarter of the third century; and about A.D. 235 the same authority fixed the Incarnation on March 25 and the Nativity on December 25. The observance of the

death days (*natales*) or burial days (*depositiones*) of martyrs, as a matter of local custom, can be traced to shortly after the middle of the second century, the date of death of St. Polycarp (*circa* A.D. 155); but these days were probably unknown as festivals outside the provinces to which the martyrs belonged.

1. It was not, however, till the Empire became Christian, and many half-converts entered the Church, that a Christian Kalendar, rivalling the heathen, came to be something of a practical necessity. The earliest dated document that has come down to us is the *Depositio episcoporum* (12 days) and the *D. martyrum* (25 days) of the Church of Rome, in which last a few other days are included, copied by the calligrapher *Philocalus* in A.D. 354.[24] The list itself seems to belong to the last years of the reign of Constantine the Great, A.D. 336. Christmas Day is the only festival of our Lord mentioned in it.

2. The next earliest is one belonging to the *Syriac* Church (first published by Dr. Wright, 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' vol. viii. Oct. 1865, cp. Nilles, i. p. xxxvii), of the year 411–2 A.D. It comes originally from Nicomedia and is of Arian origin; but it has Antiochene and Alexandrian elements.

3. The *Gallican Kalendar* of Polemius Silvius, dedicated to Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, in A.D. 448, is a bolder attempt (see Mommsen, 'Corpus Inscr. Lat.' i. 333 foll.). It is an effort to Christianise the

[24] See below, Ch. VIII., Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum* and *P. L.* 13. An interesting account of the recent work of Victor de Buck, and H. Achelis' *Die Martyrologien, ihre Geschichte und ihr Wert* (1900), is given by Dom C. Butler in *J. of Th. Stud.* Ap. 1901, pp. 147-458.

year by eliminating from it dangerous heathen festivals, while keeping the birthdays of the Emperors and similar days, the chief public holidays and popular festivals like the Caristia, or commemoration of dead relations, the Lupercalia and the like, and adding to them the most important Christian days. The festivals of our Lord contained in it are Christmas and Epiphany, with the Passion on the 25th and the Resurrection on the 27th March.

4. We have also a *Carthaginian Kalendar* (80 days) prob. *c.* A.D. 500. It has, in the Eastern manner, no entries between 16 February and 19 April, *i.e.* during Lent. Its Saints are mostly local, but some twenty are Roman, and a few other Italian, Sicilian, and Spanish. It also marks SS. John Baptist, (24 June), Maccabees, Luke, Andrew, Christmas, Stephen, John Baptist and James (27 Dec.), Infants and Epiphany (Ruinart, *Acta*; and *P. L.* 13).

5. There is also an early fragment of a *Gothic Kalendar* for part of October and November, printed in editions of Ulfilas. It may perhaps be dated *circa* A.D. 390. The following are the entries in it, some of which I do not profess to be able to explain :—

October 23.—[Memorial] of the many martyrs among the Gothic people and Frederick ('Frithareiks').

October 29.—A memorial of these martyrs remained with Father (Papa) Vereka and Batvin. [Memorial] of a Catholic church burnt among the Gothic people.

November 3.—Constantine, King (or Emperor, 'thiudanis').

Nov. 6.—Dorotheus, Bishop. *Nov.* 15.—Philip, Apostle in Hierapolis. *Nov.* 19.—[Memorial] of the elders ('althjane') in Beroea, forty in all. *Nov.* 29.—Andrew, Apostle.

In this Kalendar November is called 'first Yule month.' It may be noted that Dorotheus of Tyre is usually commemorated on 5 June. The Greek Kalendar puts St. Philip on 14 November. St. Andrew is universally on the 30th.

6. The largest ancient *Martyrology* is that falsely called *Hieronymian* containing 8,000 to 10,000 names. Duchesne and de Rossi, V. de Buck and Achelis, have laboriously explored its origin and character. *Circa* A.D. 500 the Eastern and Western lists were fused, probably at Aquileia. Then the African was added. Lastly the whole was edited in Gaul, A.D. 600–630, probably at Auxerre (under Bp. Aunarius or Aunacharius), possibly at Luxeuil. But the fusion was purely mechanical, and led to countless repetitions and confusions. Sometimes the day varies up or down, sometimes the month: sometimes kalends, nones and ides are confused. Local celebrations, representing burials or translations of relics or consecrations of churches, of course vary from the original 'natalis' or 'depositio.' Unhappily both later streams (1) Bede, Florus, Wandelbert, Rabanus and Notker, and (2) 'Mart. Rom. parvum,' Ado, Usuard and Baronius, are derived from this corrupt Gallican source.[25]

7. *Celtic Lists of Saints.*—The earliest is in the 'Stowe Missal' (see p. 92, under LITURGICAL BOOKS) dating probably from about A.D. 628. There is another rather more than a century later in the 'Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae' in three divisions, of about

[25] See Dom Butler, *loc. cit.*, and Harnack, *Altchr. Lit. bis Eus.* p. 814 foll. 1893.

A.D. 750. It was printed first by Ussher ('Works,' vi. 477–9) and is repeated in Haddan and Stubbs, 'Councils,' ii. p. 292 foll. Unfortunately no days of obits are given.

There is a full list of Irish Saints under days of the month called the *Félire of Oengus*, which is dated about the end of the tenth century. It has been edited by Dr. Whitley Stokes for the 'Royal Irish Academy' in 1880. The *Martyrology of Gorman*, edited by the same scholar (H. Bradshaw Society), is of the latter part of the twelfth century.

The Celtic Kalendar, printed by Bishop A. P. Forbes, 'Kalendars of Scottish Saints,' pp. 79–92 and preface p. xxx, is of slight importance. It seems to be Franciscan.

III. Liturgical Books

This subject is so vast that I shall do little more than attempt to show where the knowledge of it, or rather the foundation for a knowledge of it, may be most easily acquired. I have already incidentally mentioned the Liturgical matter in the 'Didaché' and the 'Canons of Hippolytus,' and more particularly in the 'Egyptian (Ethiopic) Church Order,' which appears to be the earliest complete anaphora that has come down to us. Completer Liturgies exist in the 'Prayer-book of Sarapion' (*c.* A.D. 350), apparently written for a church in the Egyptian Delta, and the 'Apostolic Constitutions' (*c.* A.D. 375), giving us the Liturgy of Antioch of that date. Thus we have material representing the usages probably of Rome,

and certainly of Egypt and Syria, at a date considerably earlier than the existing Liturgies generally called the 'ancient Liturgies.' The Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem in regard to Baptism, Confirmation and the Eucharist is made known to us in considerable detail by St. Cyril in his Catechetical Lectures of about the same date as Sarapion. That of Milan and North Italy is portrayed in the somewhat similar addresses of Saint Ambrose 'De Mysteriis,' and of a rather later unknown author in the even more important 'De Sacramentis,' which contain the earliest extracts from the Latin 'Canon Missae.' See p. 82 foll.

Eastern Liturgies

The texts of the great ancient Greek Eucharistic Liturgies, together with a very careful abstract of the illustrative matter found in various authors, have been very well edited by Mr. Brightman; but the forms for the other rites have been very imperfectly examined. The material as to these rites is also rapidly growing and will, I trust, attract the energies of some competent and perfectly unbiassed scholar to grapple with it. Meanwhile Habert, Goar, Morinus (on Ordination and Penitence), the Assemani, Renaudot, Denzinger and the ordinary Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα have to be consulted by the student.

Mr. Brightman divides the *Eastern Liturgies* into four groups which he exhibits in the following order: I. the *Syrian* Rite; II. the *Egyptian* Rite; III. the *Persian* Rite; IV. the *Byzantine* Rite.

The texts are followed by seventeen valuable Appendices and three Indices.

(I.) *The Syrian Rite.*—This consists of four sections, viz. the Liturgies (1) of the 'Apostolic Constitutions' viii. 5–14, and (2) of 'A. C.' ii. 57, 58 (the latter rearranged); (3) the 'Greek Liturgy of St. James' and (4) the 'Syriac St. James' (Liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites). It is illustrated by eight Appendices.

Appendix A.—Forms from Sahidic Eccl. Canons (cp. Brightman, *Int.* pp. xx, xxi, xxiii etc.).

„ B.—Liturgy of *Palestine* in the fourth century.

„ C.—Liturgy of *Antioch* from the writings of St. Chrysostom.

„ D.—Liturgy of *Syria* from the fifth to the eighth century.

„ E.—Liturgy of the *Dionysian writings* ('Eccl. Hier.' iii.)

„ F.—The *Epistle of James of Edessa to Thomas the Presbyter.*

„ G.—The *Pre-sanctified Liturgy of Jerusalem.*

„ H.—The *Diptychs of Jerusalem* (twelfth century and modern).

(II.) *The Egyptian Rite.*—This also consists of four sections: (1) The 'Greek Liturgy of St. Mark'; (2) The 'Coptic St. Mark and St. Cyril'; (3) The 'Anaphora of the Egyptian Church Ordinances' (Ludolf); and (4) The 'Ethiopic Liturgy of the Apostles.'

The Appendices bearing on this section are:

Appendix J.—The Liturgy from the writings of the *Egyptian Fathers.*

„ K.—The Egyptian Liturgy of the *Arabic Didascalia* of which some notice has already been taken (above, p. 39).

(III.) *The Persian Rite* is found in the 'Liturgy of the Nestorians' called that of 'Addaeus and Maris,' from the edition printed by the Archbishop's Assyrian Mission in 1900.

It is further illustrated by Appendix L, 'Fragment of a *Persian Anaphora* edited by Prof. Bickell from an Arabic MS. B.M. *Add.* 14669, ff. 20 sqq.'

(IV.) *The Byzantine Rite* consists of five texts:—

1. The 'Byzantine Liturgy of the Ninth Century' (St. Basil and St. Chrysostom) from the Barberini and Grottaferrata MSS. and other sources.

2. 'The Liturgy of the Pre-sanctified of the Ninth Century,' also from the Barberini MS.

3. 'The Modern Liturgy of St. Chrysostom' from the Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα (Venice, 1869) and other printed books.

4. 'The Prayers of the Modern Liturgy of St. Basil,' from the same.

5. 'The Liturgy of the Armenians,' translated and collected from printed books.

The illustrative Appendices are:—

Appendix O.—*The Byzantine Liturgy before the Seventh Century*, collected from St. Chrysostom and others.

Appendix P.—*The Byzantine Liturgy of the Seventh Century*, especially from the 'Mystagogia' of St. Maximus and his Scholia on the Dionysian '*Eccl. Hierarchy*' with references to the Trullan Council.

,, Q.—*The Development of the Byzantine Prothesis*: a series of extracts from the ninth to the sixteenth century.

,, R.—*A Byzantine Diptych* between A.D. 1427-1439.

Two other Appendices illustrate the *Asian* and the *Pontic* Rites, of which no complete Liturgies have come down to us.

Appendix M.—The *Liturgy of Asia from the Laodicene Canons.*

,, N.—The *Liturgy from the writings of the Pontic Exarchate* to which Duchesne's theory as to the Auxentian (*i.e.* Cappadocian) origin of the Milanese and Gallican Liturgy naturally attracts our attention.

This book of Mr. Brightman's is, for the present at least, the final book on its subject. It can be confidently commended to the student, who should read all its parts thoroughly (Introduction, Texts, Appendices, with their notes, and Indices) before concluding that what he needs is not contained in it. The Indices are very valuable, though they might with advantage be fuller on certain topics; and a general index of subject matters, names etc., would be helpful.

The *Western Liturgies* have not yet been sufficiently co-ordinated, even as regards the Eucharist, though the difficulties in respect to them are perhaps not so great as in regard to the Eastern. All scholars must be grateful to Ménard, Morinus, Martene and Mabillon, Tommasi and Muratori; but on the whole Duchesne's 'Origines du culte chrétien' is the book I have found much the most enlightening. It has the merit of being at once very readable and generally accurate in its statement of facts. It familiarises the reader's mind with broad historical generalisations, while it gives him sufficient texts and references to enable him to verify the conclusions. But we have also reason to be grateful to our own scholars for much good work. Names like those of William Palmer, Maskell and Scudamore in a former generation, and more recently C. E. Hammond—the precursor of Brightman—will occur to everyone. Quite lately Mr. H. A. Wilson has edited one of the most important Western books, the 'Gelasian Sacramentary,' in a very satisfactory manner, and Mr. Feltoe the 'Leonine,' if not quite so ably, yet very conveniently. Messrs. Greenwood, Henderson, Warren, J. H. Bernard, Atkinson, Chr. Wordsworth and others have also done good service in editing English and Irish texts. The origins of our own Prayer-book, and incidentally of public worship in general, have quite recently been well illustrated by various writers, such as the Bishop (Dowden) of Edinburgh, and Messrs. J. H. Maude, Leighton Pullan, and Walter Howard Frere—the latter's work

being a revision and rewriting of Mr. Francis Procter's well-known book.

The Western books may be catalogued under four heads: 1. *Roman*; 2. *Gallican*; 3. *Milanese*; 4. *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon*. They really fall into two classes, Roman and Gallican, as the last three rites have one origin, though the books are more or less Romanised.

1. *Roman Books.*—(1) The earliest (outside the Church Orders), usually called the *Leonine Sacramentary*, is unfortunately mutilated at the beginning. It does not, therefore, contain the most important and interesting services, those for Holy Week. We call it 'Leonine,' and it is really a purely Roman book, but parts of it must be a century or so later than the date of Leo I. (440–461). All that Duchesne ventures to say about it is that it cannot be earlier than the siege of Rome in 537–8 by the Goths under Vitiges, and that it is probably before the time of Gregory the Great (590–604). There are certain curious features in the book—its disorder, the number of Collects for the same festival (*e.g.* fourteen for St. Lawrence and twenty-eight for St. Peter and St. Paul); the statement that St. Peter and St. Paul did not suffer on the same day (which in the sixth century was regarded almost as heretical), and the strong prejudice exhibited against monks in the prayers. While, therefore, it is a Roman book and contains most valuable matter, it is supposed to be for private rather than public use. (See Duchesne, 'Origines,' p. 131 foll.)

(2) The so-called *Gelasian Sacramentary* is later than St. Gregory the Great, and therefore (like the

'Leonine') something like a century later than the Pope whose name it bears, for Gelasius sat from 492-496. Indeed, the 'Gelasian' must be later than A.D. 628, when Heraclius recovered the 'true cross,' for it contains a service for the 'Exaltation of the Cross.' But it is certainly before the time of Pope Gregory II. (715–731), who instituted the liturgical observance of the Thursdays in Lent. Much of its contents, such as the forms of ordination, is Gallican; and this came about, in all probability, during the time of its introduction into Gaul, from which the oldest MSS. come. A similar mixture of the *Gelasian* rite with Roman forms is visible in the Irish Stowe Missal, the introduction of the Roman rite into Ireland being about the date given above, A.D. 628. The test which will generally separate the Gallican from the true Roman forms is the comparison of the *Leonine* and *Gregorian* books—the latter in its true Roman parts. The Ambrosian 'De Mysteriis,' and the Gallican (North Italian?) 'De Sacramentis' founded upon it, also supply important tests.

(3) With the Gelasian Sacramentary Duchesne groups the *Missale Francorum*, a fragment containing ordinations, benedictions of Virgins and Widows, the consecration of an altar and eleven 'Missae' with part of the 'Canon.' This is generally Roman, but with some Gallican rubrics.

The MS. itself dates from about A.D. 700, so that it is a comparatively early text ('Origines,' p. 127 foll.). It is reprinted from the earlier edition in Migne, 'P. L.' 72, p. 318–339.

(4) The *Gregorian Sacramentary* is more properly called the 'Sacramentary of Hadrian,' as it was sent by that Pope to Charles the Great between the years 784–791. It consists of two parts, the first Roman, the second a Gallican supplement, added not improbably by Alcuin. The first part, that sent by Hadrian, exhibits Roman and papal usages of the eighth century, being eminently the Pope's book and containing the prayers which he ought to use at the ceremonies at which he generally presides. It does not, therefore, contain either the services for ordinary Sundays or for such private solemnities as marriages and funerals, nor does it notice those for emergencies, such as war and pestilence, nor even for the veiling of Virgins and the reconciliation of penitents ('Origines,' p. 117).

The Gregorian book, however, as published by Ménard (see 'P. L.' 78) and Muratori, does not properly distinguish between the original Roman book and the supplements added in France. These supplements, as I have said, may not improbably be attributed to Alcuin; the conjecture which ascribed them to Grimoldus is not accepted by Mr. Wilson and others. They may be generally identified by subtracting the following portions of Muratori's edition which the scholar just mentioned has pointed out to me,[26] viz. cols. 1–138 + 241–272 (on the last of which appears the transcriber's important note

[26] See also his *Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. liii foll. It is much to be desired that Mr. Wilson would re-edit the Gregorian book, properly discriminating the supplements.

on the contents of the Gregorian book, unfortunately out of place) + 357–361. These columns contain the original book of Hadrian. The portions that remain are the French supplements. It is in these last that the remarkable short forms for the consecration of Virgins are found (Muratori, cols. 183–4 = 'P. L.' 78, 173–4) of which mention will be made more fully in Chapter V, p. 300.

(5) *The Ordines.*—The natural supplement to the Sacramentary are the *Ordines Romani* published by Mabillon (Migne, 'P. L.' 78). The most important of them are the *first*, which is on the Eucharist; the *seventh*, on Baptism; and the *eighth* and *ninth*, on Ordination. The first is the text on which Amalarius of Metz commented, about A.D. 830. It is Roman, with the exception of chapters 27–47 on the Paschal rites. These last have an admixture of other ceremonies, and have no relation to the local and personal circumstances of Rome, though they are based, no doubt, on Roman usages.

The true Roman Paschal Order may be recovered, as regards the last three days of Holy Week, from the manuscript of Einsiedeln published by De Rossi in his 'Inscr. Christ.' ii. p. 34, and from the Ordines of St. Amand published by Duchesne.

The seventh Roman Order of Mabillon, on Baptism and its allied ceremonies, is the text on which Jesse, Bishop of Amiens, commented ('P. L.' 105, p. 781). The eighth and ninth, on Ordination, occur in manuscripts of the ninth century, and bear internal marks of antiquity. In the eighth the Acolyte is ordained

by the gift of the 'sacculus,' and the Subdeacon by that of the chalice. No ceremonies concerned with 'instruments' are mentioned for Deacon or Presbyter. Ordination of a Bishop *per saltum* is also clearly provided for. The ninth appears to have been written in the time of Pope Leo III. (A.D. 795–816). It contained some general notes on the method of ordination, in which a mention occurs of the blessing of Deaconesses and Presbyteresses (sec. 3), and more particulars about the ordination of a Bishop and a Pope. The latter must be a Presbyter or Deacon ordained by his predecessor; he cannot be a Bishop (sec. 5). The Eastern and Gallican ceremony of holding the Gospel book over his head or shoulders is here mentioned, perhaps for the first time in a truly Roman rite. The 'regnum' or crown 'quod ad similitudinem cassidis ex albo fit indumento' is also prescribed.

(6) The *Ordines of St. Amand,* printed for the first time by Duchesne, in his Appendix, contain: (1) the description of the 'Stational Mass,' *i.e.* at the different city churches, p. 440 foll.; (2) the ceremonies of the Paschal season, p. 449; (3) the Greater Litany, p. 451; (4) the Ordination of Deacons and Priests, p. 458; (5) the Dedication of a Church, p. 461; and (6) the procession on Candlemas Day, p. 462. The mention of the 'Agnus Dei,' which was introduced by Pope Sergius, A.D. 687–701, shows that it is after his time, and indeed part is as late as Pope Hadrian. But the greater part is to be placed early in the eighth century.

(7) For a study of the ritual of the ninth century the reader must be referred especially to the writings of *Amalarius of Metz* and of his opponents, *Agobard* and *Florus of Lyons*. Amalarius, a scholar of Alcuin, wrote his treatise 'De Ecclesiasticis Officiis Libelli IV,' about A.D. 827. In 831 he went to Rome under Gregory IV., and corrected his treatise with the help of the Archdeacon Theodore and others. He also went to Corbie, in order to see the Roman Antiphoners which had been sent there, and wrote his second book, 'De Ordine Antiphonarii.' His writings aroused bitter opposition from ecclesiastics of Lyons, and were condemned for certain errors of doctrine at the Synod of Quiercy, *c.* A.D. 837. But they are indispensable to the student of liturgical history.

The tract of Jesse of Amiens on Baptism has been already mentioned. He died in A.D. 836. It shows that episcopal Confirmation was by this time introduced into Gaul.

The works of Agobard are printed in 'P. L.' 104, those of Jesse and Symphosius Amalarius in 'P. L.' 105, those of Florus in 'P. L.' 119. There are useful dissertations on the life and works of Amalarius by Rudolf Sahre, Dresden, 1893, and Reinhard Mönchemeier, Münster i. W., also 1893.

2. *Gallican Books.*—(1) The first of these that needs to be mentioned is the *Missale Gothicum* or *Missal of Autun*, A.D. 678–700 (Migne, 'P. L.' 72, 225–318). Its first editors, Tommasi and Mabillon, supposed that it belonged to the province of Narbonne, under the Visigothic kings. It is Gallican

with some Roman elements. It has lost its beginning and is mutilated at the end, but contains services from the Vigil of Christmas onwards.

(2) The *Missale Gallicanum vetus* ('P. L.' 72, 339–382), another fragmentary book, is of the same date and character, and often identical in language. The two must be pieced together, and in many points they supplement one another.

(3) The *Masses published by Mone* ('P. L.' 138) from a Reichenau MS. of about A.D. 700 are purely Gallican, but, unfortunately, for ordinary days, except for the festival of St. Germain of Auxerre. There are also other fragments, published by Amédée Peyron, Mai, Bunsen and Bickell, mentioned by Duchesne (p. 146) in connection with the foregoing.

(4) The *Lectionary of Luxeuil* ('P. L.' 72, 171–216), published in skeleton form by Mabillon, is a purely Gallican book. It contains few festivals of Saints, but among others that of St. Genoveva ('Origines,' p. 147). Her day is 3 January.

(5) The *Letters of St. Germanus of Paris* ('P. L.' 72, 88–98), A.D. 555–576, enable us to construct a sort of Ordo Gallicanus, though only of a portion of the rites of the Church. They are the basis of Duchesne's exposition of the Gallican Eucharistic Liturgy.

(6) More important still in some respects is the Pseudo-Ambrosian tract *De Sacramentis*, a book founded on the shorter 'De Mysteriis,' which is probably really St. Ambrose's. The 'De Sacramentis' deals with Baptism and Confirmation and the Eucharist, being a series of lectures to the newly

baptised at Easter, very like in plan to St. Cyril's discourses on the same subjects at Jerusalem. It is not easy to say to what date it belongs ; but it would seem to be an early fifth century production, and we may perhaps assign it to North Italy. It cannot be Milanese (though it is based on Milanese customs), because it evidently recognises Presbyteral Baptism. 'Presbyter' is used and then 'Sacerdos,' instead of 'Summus Sacerdos' as in the 'De Mysteriis,'[27] whereas at Milan the Bishop was, even to a late date, in theory the minister of Baptism.

After the Baptism, which was by immersion, followed the Unction by the Priest (sacerdos), not by the Bishop ('De M.' 6, 29, 30 ; 'De S.' ii. 7, iii. 1). The later book gives the words used : 'Pater omnipotens qui te regeneravit ex aqua et spiritu sancto, concessitque tibi peccata tua, ipse te ungat in vitam aeternam.' Then followed in both rites the lection (St. John xiii. 1–12) describing the feet-washing, and the washing itself ('De M.' 6, 31–33 ; 'De S.' iii. 1, 4–7). The author of the latter notes that it was not

[27] Compare *De Myst.* 2 : 'Vidisti illic levitam, vidisti sacerdotem, vidisti summum sacerdotem.'
De M. 3 : 'Quid vidisti ? Aquas utique, sed non solas : levitas illic ministrantes, summum sacerdotem interrogantem et consecrantem.'
De Sacr. i. 2 : 'Occurrit tibi levita, occurrit presbyter.'
De S. i. 3 : 'Ingressus es, vidisti aquam, vidisti sacerdotem, vidisti levitam.'

Duchesne, p. 169, suggests Ravenna as the author's home, as a place where the Roman and Gallican usages could easily be mixed.

performed by the 'High-priest,' but had its origin from Him, evidently taking 'High-Priest' of our Lord's office.[28] He also notes that it was not a Roman custom, but nevertheless he defends it as a good custom.[29] He avoids adopting in any formal way the peculiarity of doctrine put forward by St. Ambrose (who made this feet-washing an ablution of inherited sin), but just glances at something like it.[30] This unknown author was evidently writing at a time when the practice of baptismal feet-washing was being attacked as in some way improper, as it was censured in Spain at the beginning even of the fourth century. After the feet-washing followed the completion of Confirmation in the 'sealing,' in which the prayer for the sevenfold gift of the Holy Spirit was evidently used, much as at present among us; but there is no reference to the Bishop as officiating in either book—though it is not said in the earlier book who administered the 'sealing.' The act intended was no doubt the crossing the forehead, probably in the shape of a X with the chrism already poured upon the head. No mention of any other imposition

[28] *De S.* iii. 1: 'Ascendisti de fonte, quid secutum est? Audisti lectionem. Succinctus summus sacerdos—licet enim et presbyteri fecerint, tamen exordium ministerii a summo est sacerdote—succinctus, inquam, summus sacerdos pedes tibi lavit.'

[29] *Ib.* iii. 1, 5: 'Non ignoramus quod Ecclesia Romana hanc consuetudinem non habeat. . . . In omnibus cupio sequi Ecclesiam Romanam: sed tamen et nos homines sensum habemus; ideo quod alibi rectius servatur et nos rectius custodimus.'

[30] *Ib.* 7: 'ideo lavas pedes ut in ea parte in qua insidiatus est serpens maius subsidium sanctificationis accedat.' For St. Ambrose's peculiar view cp. *De M.* 6, 32, and *Expos. Ps.* xlviii. 9.

of hands is made. We have in fact the Eastern rite of Confirmation but the Western prayer.[31]

Then follows the approach to the Altar, and then, in the later book, what is perhaps the earliest fragment of the 'Canon' of the Liturgy contained in any Western book, though in some of the Church Orders preserved in Egypt we have what may in part be Roman forms. It runs as follows ('De S.' iv. 5 and 6):

'Dicit sacerdos: Fac nobis (inquit) hanc oblationem adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem: quod figura est corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur, in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit in caelum ad te, sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus, gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, fractumque apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens: *Accipite et edite ex hoc*

[31] Presbyteral Confirmation was evidently very common and indeed probably general, in the West, wherever Bishops were few, being naturally delegated as part of the priestly office to the 'secundi sacerdotes'; see, for instance, the first *Council of Orange*, A.D. 441 c. 2: 'Nullum ministrorum, qui baptizandi recepit officium, sine chrismate usquam debere progredi, quia inter nos placuit semel chrismari,' etc., and cp. the Irish custom, note 36. For early chrismation by Presbyters see *Can. Hipp.* xix. 134. The *Egypt. Ch. Order* and *Verona Fragments* (above, pp. 25, 28) have a double chrismation; and this was allowed by the Popes, leaving the Presbyters to anoint the top of the head (*vertex, cerebrum*) and ordering the Bishops alone to anoint the forehead. This double chrismation is introduced into the *Gelasian* book. Magistretti does not apparently understand the genesis of the rite (*La Liturgia* etc. p. 22, 1899). For the Gallican form of Baptism in the seventh and eighth centuries see *Miss. Goth.* no. 35, *M. Gall. vet.* no. 25. There is mention of chrismation in the first, and of infusion of chrism in the second, but none of sealing or laying on of hands. This marks the earlier date of the *De Sacramentis*.

ommes; hoc est enim corpus meum quod pro multis confringitur. Similiter etiam calicem postquam coenatum est, pridie quam pateretur, accepit, respexit in caelum ad te, sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus, gratias agens, benedixit, apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit, dicens : *Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes; hic est enim sanguis meus.* . . . Quotiescumque hoc feceritis, toties commemorationem mei facietis, donec iterum adveniam.[32]

'Et sacerdos dicit : Ergo memores gloriosissimae eius passionis et ab inferis resurrectionis, et in caelum adscensionis, offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem vitae aeternae;[33] et petimus et precamur ut hanc oblationem suscipias in sublimi altari tuo per manus Angelorum tuorum, sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.'

[32] Duchesne, ed. 1 and 2, p. 170, omits the detached words 'Quotiescumque . . . adveniam,' apparently by accident, in quoting this fragment.

[33] This remarkable prayer (from 'et petimus et precamur' onwards) is clearly from an Eastern source, and its proper setting is revealed to us by the Egyptian Liturgies, in which it forms part of the Intercession in the anaphora (not distinctly of the prayer of Consecration) and is used on behalf of those who have offered various gifts. It occurs practically in the Greek St. Mark (Brightman, p. 129) and in the Liturgy of the Coptic Jacobites (*ib.* 170–1). The names of Abel and Abraham are common to all forms. St. Mark adds the incense of Zacharias and the alms of Cornelius and the two mites of the widow. The Coptic adds only the two mites of the widow. Melchisedech seems peculiar to the Latin rite. The promotion of a subsidiary prayer of this kind to a place in the consecration is paralleled by the addition of the prayer for the

This is not the place to discuss the relation of this fragment to the Roman Canon, but to notice how precious it is as a proof of the early simplicity of the Western rite. The use of 'figura' reminds us of Tertullian and of 'Sarapion' and of the oblation of the elements in the latter before the words of Institution and Invocation. There is also in it no prayer for any change of the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ for the purposes of communion, and no Invocation either of the Word or the Spirit, so far as it has been preserved to us.

If this be a form of the Gallican Canon it was in part very like the Roman as it now is, but by what reciprocal or independent influence the likeness was produced it is not easy to ascertain.

When, however, we speak of 'the Gallican Canon' we must remember that in Gaul itself it was by no means as fixed as elsewhere even in the seventh century. It consisted of a large number of variable prayers, with very little which was fixed beside the recitation of the Institution ('Qui pridie'). In these prayers there is sometimes an Invocation, sometimes not. They tend to show how imprudent it is to try to find a specific 'form' essential to the validity of the Sacrament.

(7) The *Mozarabic Liturgy* has only come down to us in later books, but it is, like the Spanish form of

blessing of oil and fruits ('per quem haec omnia') to the Eucharistic Canon, with which it has nothing really to do.

I incline to think that the general similarity between the Canon here printed and the Roman is due to a common origin, and that North Italy (like Rome) tended to fixity in this matter, while other parts of the West adhered to primitive variability.

order and worship generally, Gallican in origin. It was in the Visigothic kingdom, of which Toledo was the centre, that the Gallican rite maintained itself longest and strongest, and even now it has a certain languid existence. I have in fact been present, like many other travellers, at a celebration of the Liturgy at Toledo in which this rite was used. Much may be gathered about it, not only from the actual texts still printed at Toledo (which of course have been subjected to some amount of revision) but from the canons of Councils of that city, especially the fourth (A.D. 633), and from the writings of St. Isidore of Seville. The texts are reprinted 'P. L.' vols. 85, 86.

3. *Milanese Books.*—What I have said about the Ambrosian books on the Sacraments makes it evident that there is a close relation between the Milanese and the Gallican rite. It is so close that it has suggested to Duchesne the very plausible theory that Milan was the centre from which the Gallican rite spread to North Italy, Gaul, Spain and Britain (pp. 84–9). The previous theory was, I suppose, that the connection of St. Irenaeus with Asia Minor and Lyons was an indication of frequent direct intercourse between Gaul and the East in the second century, and that to that connection the Eastern characteristics of the Gallican rite are mainly due. Duchesne's argument to the contrary is that the Gallican Liturgy is not of a second century but a fourth century type; that it is highly developed and complicated, and yet is in a great degree uniform in its character over this large area, wherever we

can trace it before it was superseded by the Roman Liturgy. It must have been, then, imported as a whole, and have spread from some authoritative centre, such as Milan was under the house of Constantine in the fourth century, while Lyons was so no longer. It is more developed, in fact, than the Liturgy of the 'Apostolic Constitutions,' and therefore seems to belong at latest to the middle of the fourth century, a time of great Liturgical activity.

In consequence of all these considerations, Duchesne conjectures that it was introduced into Milan before the time of St. Ambrose by his predecessor Auxentius, a Cappadocian, one of the court Bishops of the reign of Constantius and an Arian (A.D. 355–374), who took great part in the Council of Rimini. It is, I think, too much to say that St. Ambrose could not be the introducer of Eastern rites into his Province. For we know that in his episcopate the Oriental method of chanting was introduced at Milan in A.D. 387 (S. Aug. 'Conf.' ix. 7). But the introduction of a whole Liturgy by him is certainly much less probable than its introduction by his predecessor, who was a Greek of Asia Minor.

In order to arrive at a more complete conclusion of the probabilities of the case, we should have to compare the Milanese and Gallican rites, not only with Eastern Liturgies generally, but with the type presented by writers of the Pontic Exarchate. Unfortunately, no Pontic Liturgy exists, and we have to depend upon such careful collections as that of Mr. Brightman (Appendix N, pp. 521–526), which

of course only touches the Eucharistic Liturgy. A comparison of that Appendix with the account of the Gallican Liturgy given by Duchesne (pp. 180–217) shows a considerable general and some special resemblance. The general resemblance, in the order of the lections—Prophecy, Apostle, (Psalm or Psalmulus) Gospel—in the Litany followed by the Kiss of Peace, and in the offertory made by the people, and the special points of resemblance in language, make it quite possible that if we had the Pontic Liturgy we should find it to be the link between East and West which we are seeking.[34] On the other hand, these resemblances in order are not confined to the Pontic Liturgy, and there are verbal resemblances in Gallican books to other Eastern Rites, and it would require a very careful study of a mass of scattered evidence to arrive at a definite conclusion even as to the probabilities of the case. The one definite point we know, viz. the adoption of the Antiochene method of Psalmody at Milan, ought not to be overlooked, and there are certain points of verbal resemblance to Syrian Rites which have to be weighed. It is quite possible also (as Mr. Brightman has pointed out to me) that direct Byzantine influence

[34] The *φάγετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες* of Caesarius Nazianz. *Dial.* iii. qu. 160 (*P. G.* 38, 1132) ap. Brightman, p. 526, is to be compared with the 'edite ex hoc omnes' of *De S.* iv. 5, and the 'manducate ex hoc omnes' of the Ambrosian (Ceriani, *Notit. L. A.* p. 9) and Roman. But it is also in the *Coptic Jacobite*, Br. p. 177. In the Litany 'Pro his qui in sancta ecclesia fructus misericordiae largiuntur' (Duch. pp. 190–1) is parallel to the Pontic (Br. p. 521) *Ὑπὲρ τῶν τοὺς πνευματικοὺς καρποὺς ἐπιδεικνυμένων ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ.* Duchesne points out parallels in these Litanies to other Greek rites.

in the sixth century may have been exercised upon the Gallican books now extant. As far as I can gather his mind upon the subject generally, he inclines to suppose that Gallican and Roman rites have a common origin, and that the Gallican retained more of primitive elasticity, while the Roman took a more oblique and peculiar and a more rigid line of development. This also seems to be the opinion of Mr. W. H. Frere in his revision of Procter (p. 508, 'Gallican versus Roman').

Unfortunately, the learned Milanese writers who have recently collected information on the antiquities of the Ambrosian rite [35] have not, as far as I am aware, handled this particular problem at any length, being satisfied to illustrate the Ambrosian rite from the teaching of St. Ambrose and other early writers and to show the conformity of the Liturgy to the Roman as regards its doctrine and much of its expression. They do not, in fact, attempt to give us an adequate conception of the character and amount of the influence exercised by one rite upon the other. The account of the Milanese daily offices in Dr. Magistretti's recent book is, however, very full and ought to be taken into account by all who write afresh on this subject.

[35] *Notitia Liturgiae Ambrosianae ante saeculum* XI *medium et eius concordia cum doctrina et canonibus Œcum. Conc. Tridentini*, per A. M. Ceriani, Mediolani, 1895.

Beroldus, sive Eccl. Ambrosianae Kalendarium et Ordines saec. XII. ed Marcus Magistretti, Mediolani, 1894.

Pontificale in usum Eccl. Med. necnon Ordines Ambrosiani ex. codd. saec. IX.–XV. ed. M. Magistretti, praefatus est A. M. Ceriani, 1897.

La Liturgia della Chiesa Milanese nel secolo IV. Can. Dott. Marco Magistretti, Milano, 1899.

The *Ordo Ambrosianus ad consecrandam ecclesiam et altaria*, recently edited by Dr. G. Mercati, from an XIth cent. Lucca capitular MS., is a welcome addition to our knowledge. Besides aspersions it has the alphabet ceremony, but no burial of relics. Three of the five prayers in it are (relatively) original, and one is interesting as referring to the founder of the Church (Vatican *Studi e Testi*, no. 7, 1902, p. 22).

4. *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon.*—A. *Celtic Books especially Irish.*—It is probable that all the Celtic Churches derived their Liturgies from Gaul. The Eastern features in these rites, which are numerous even in the Romanised books, are best explained as coming through Gallican channels, though some direct intercourse is not impossible. Among the common features of the Celtic and Gallican Liturgies may be specified the following, for which we have testimony mainly Irish: (1) a *multiplicity of Collects* variable, even in the Canon, with the Sunday or festival and perhaps answering to the seven of the Gallican rite; (2) more numerous *proper Prefaces* and prefaces to the Lord's Prayer; (3) the place of the *Episcopal benediction* after the consecration and fraction and before the intinction; (4) the use of the *Benedicite omnia opera*.[36] In the communion of the sick we observe that *communion* was given in both kinds *in one act*, and this

[36] See F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 96, 99, 100, 111, Oxf. 1881. The *Benedicite* appears among Communion forms in the *Antiphoner of Bangor*, and it is also in the *Liber Hymnorum*, no. 43, i. p. 195.

may have been the practice at open communion. In the Baptismal office we have *Confirmation by Presbyters* and the *washing of the feet* of the newly-baptised as in the 'De Sacramentis.' [37]

In ordination the consecration of a Bishop by a single Bishop and the unction of the hands of Deacons and Priests were peculiar customs (Warren, 68–70). The latter may be compared with the crossing of the hand of the newly-baptised.

There is evidence that in Ireland different liturgical forms were gradually introduced in rivalry with

[37] The Presbyter is directed to anoint the newly-baptised with chrism, using the prayer, 'May Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath regenerated thee with water and the holy Spirit, and who hath given thee remission of all thy sins, himself anoint thee with the chrism of salvation in Christ.' Cp. p. 80, above. Then follows the rubric (in Irish) 'here the unction is made' and the formula, 'I anoint thee with oil and with the chrism of salvation and sanctification, in the name of God the Father, Son and Spirit, now and for all [times] to the ages of ages;' and an address to the oil, '*Operare creatura olei*,' which is found also in the *Sacr. Gall.* before Baptism (Warren, p. 216). He is also directed to vest the neophyte in white on the forehead, and to cross his right hand before the feet-washing. But nothing is said of crossing the forehead or imposition of hands. Probably (as in the Eastern Church to this day), the crossing was made as part of the unction, first on the forehead and then on other parts of the body, which are referred to in the *Operare creatura olei*, 'ut non lateat hic spiritus immundus, nec in membris, nec in medullis, nec in compaginibus membrorum.' Thus we have the explanation of Saint Bernard's assertion that in the Irish Church Confirmation (*i.e.* as an Episcopal act) was omitted before the time of Malachi (Bernard, *Vit. Mal.* 3). Others asserted that chrism was not used, which might easily be the case if oil was rare (Warren, p. 65), but clearly the old rituals provided it for Baptism as well as for the sick. The feet-washing is described in Warren, p. 217: see also extracts from *De Sacramentis*, iii. 1 (above, p. 81), and cp. *Council of Elvira*, c. 48.

the usage of St. Patrick, but unfortunately there is only one direct statement about their origin. The 'Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae' already referred to (p. 67) divides the history before its own time into three periods. The first order of Saints from St. Patrick to A.D. 543 had 'one head Christ, one leader Patrick, one Mass, one celebration, one tonsure from ear to ear. They celebrated one Pascha on the 14th of the moon after the vernal equinox; and what one Church had excommunicated all excommunicated.' As St. Patrick was the son of a Deacon, and the grandson or great-grandson of a Presbyter, he no doubt brought to Ireland the Liturgy of his own country. If we knew for certain where 'Bannavem Taberniae' was, we should be able to conjecture whether that Liturgy was Scottish or Breton. The second order (A.D. 543–599) 'had one head our Lord; they celebrated different Masses and had different rules; they had one Pascha . . . and one tonsure. . . . They received a Mass from the Britons, from David the Bishop and Gillas [Gildas] and Docus [*i.e.* Cadoc].' The third order (A.D. 599–665), it is said, had different rules and Masses and different tonsures and different dates for Pascha, some keeping it on the 14th and some on the 16th of the Moon. The meaning of this is probably that whereas the second order had a British Mass besides the Mass of St. Patrick the third had a further difference in the Liturgy—no doubt, receiving at this period the Roman Mass recently introduced into England.

(1) *The Stowe Missal.* As a matter of fact it is

clear that the books which have actually come down to us are (with exception of the 'Bangor Antiphoner' and the Irish 'Liber Hymnorum') based upon the Roman rite. Thus the *Stowe Missal* (now in the Royal Irish Academy), which seems to have been the service-book of an abbey in Munster, perhaps in the county Tipperary, and to belong in substance to the first half of the seventh century, heads the *Te igitur* by the words 'Canon Dominicus Papae Gilasi' (*l.c.* p. 234). It has also an 'Oratio Gregoriana super Evangelium' (*ib.* 231).[38]

It has naturally certain Gallican and other peculiarities. Thus, besides those already referred to, it has a remarkable interpolation in the Canon Missae in the commemoration of the departed, consisting of (1) a Litany invoking 31 Saints beginning with St. Stephen and St. Martin and ending with two female Saints, Sinecha and Samdine (*ib.* 238 foll.), and (2) memorials of about 113 Saints beginning with Abel, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Melchisedech, Abraham, Isaac etc. and containing, in the midst of a number of Irish Saints, the first three English Bishops of Canterbury *after* Augustine, viz. Laurence, Mellitus and Justus, the last of whom died A.D. 627.

(2) *The two books of Hymns, The Antiphoner of Bangor* (co. Down) recently re-edited by Mr. Warren, and the *Liber Hymnorum* by Professors Bernard and Atkinson, both for the H. Bradshaw

[38] This missal has been printed by Warren in 1881 and by Dr. Barth. MacCarthy, with an elaborate monograph, in the *Trans. of R. Irish Acad.* vol. 27, 1886.

Society, are of great importance.[39] The contents are by no means all Irish. *The Antiphoner* contains, not only Biblical canticles and the *Te Deum* and *Gloria in excelsis*, but the Hymn of St. Hilary on Christ, *Ymnum dicat turba fratrum*, an anonymous hymn for blessing the (Paschal ?) taper, *Ignis creator igneus*, the midnight hymn sometimes ascribed to St. Ambrose, *Mediae noctis tempus est*, and others which may or may not be of Celtic origin. The most important of these is the well-known communion hymn, *Sancti venite, Christi corpus sumite*, which is known to us in Dr. Neale's translation, 'Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord.' The Antiphoner also contains the famous hymn of St. Secundinus in praise of St. Patrick, *Audite omnes amantes*, and the elaborately artificial hymn of St. Comgall, *Audite pantes ta erga*, with a number of other forms, especially Collects and Antiphons. These Collects were said after each canticle and perhaps after each psalm or group of psalms according to Eastern and Gallican use ('Antiph.' p. xxiii). We

[39] The *Antiphoner of Bangor*, now numbered C. 5 inf. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, is a manuscript dated between A.D. 680–691. After leaving its home it was for some time at Bobbio. It was first published by Muratori (Padua, 1713), in his *Anecdota Ambrosiana*, iv. 119–159. It was reprinted in Migne, *P. L.* 72, 579–606, and again edited by J. O'Laverty in 1884. The most correct and complete edition is Mr. Warren's, 2 vols. 4to, 1893 5. The 'amended text' in vol. ii. is not, however, quite satisfactory.

The *Liber Hymnorum* is based on two manuscripts, one (T) at Trinity College, Dublin, of the eleventh century, and one (F) in the Franciscan Convent there, a little later. Dr. J. H. Todd edited two out of three parts of it in 1855 and 1869, for the Irish Arch. and Celtic Society, but never finished it. The complete and satisfactory edition mentioned in the text appeared in 1897, in 2 vols. 8vo.

also learn that Saturday was kept as a feast day, as the Milanese and Eastern custom was (*Hymnus in natali Martyrum vel Sabbato ad matutinam*, no. 11). In the prayers themselves the expression 'Collectio' for 'Oratio'—though 'Oratio' is sometimes used—the number of them addressed to the second Person of the Trinity, the frequent use of the title 'Salvator mundi,' the commencement of many Collects with 'Tu' and 'Te,' are all Gallican characteristics : and others have been noticed (*ib.* xxvi foll.). Among these Collects occurs a pretty rhyming hymn in praise of the house to which the book belonged, beginning *Benchuir bona regula, Recta atque divina, Stricta, sancta, sedula, Summa, iusta ac mira.*

(3) The *Book of Hymns* has many more hymns than the Antiphoner, but is not so valuable liturgically. Indeed, it is more like a miscellaneous collection of materials for private use, made when the old rite was decaying or dying. It contains 48 different pieces, mostly hymns and canticles, including a good many in Irish. It is therefore historically more important than the Antiphoner. The text of the *Te Deum* in both is of great value, and in my opinion very ancient, containing, as the Irish Gospel texts sometimes do, true readings otherwise lost.

(4) The *Book of Mulling* contains a skeleton of a service of some interest (*c.* A.D. 800). It consisted chiefly of the *Magnificat*, stanzas 4, 5, 6 of the hymn of St. Columba (*noli pater*), a lection from St. Matt. v. 1 foll. (the Beatitudes), certain other verses of hymns, with antiphons, the Apostles' Creed, the

Lord's Prayer, and possibly the collect 'Ascendat oratio nostra' etc. This Dr. Lawlor supposed to be a daily morning or evening office; but Dr. Bernard makes it probable, by comparison with a passage in the 'Leabhar Breac,' that it was a special office, used as a sort of charm or deprecation against the plague. Dr. Lawlor's knowledge of the quaint Irish rule that the merit of reciting a hymn was secured by reciting its last three verses has been very helpful in identifying the hymns intended.[40]

(5) But the service which is most frequently met with in Celtic books is that for *the Visitation, Unction and Communion of the Sick*. This occurs in four of the Gospel books— for the Stowe Missal also contains the Gospel according to St. John—the other three being the Books of Dimma and Mulling (at Trinity College, Dublin) and the Book of Deer (in the Cambridge University Library). The latter is the only Scottish manuscript containing an ancient liturgical Celtic form—being from the Monastery of Deer, in the district of Buchan, Aberdeenshire. It only contains the Communion of the Sick. The others have also the Unction; and the Dimma and Stowe books, which are nearly identical, have a much longer service for the Visitation, with excellent short Collects, Lections, and the Pax before communion, and the crossing and *Pax tecum* after it. Dimma has an Epistle (1 Cor. xv. 19–22) and Gospel (Matt. xxii.

[40] See Dr. H. J. Lawlor's *Notes on some non-biblical Matter in the Book of Mulling* (Soc. Ant. Scotland, 1895), and *Chapters on the Book of Mulling*, ch. vii., and Dean J. H. Bernard's further elucidations in *Liber Hymnorum*, i. p. xxi foll.

22–23); Stowe only a Gospel lection, allowing an alternative between the Dimma Gospel and Matt. xxiv. 29–31. All four have the joint communion in both kinds to which reference has already been made, an important evidence of Celtic usage. The form of administration is, 'Corpus et sanguis domini nostri Iesu Christi Dei vivi altissimi' (Stowe); or 'Corpus et s. d. n. I. C. D. vivi conservat animam tuam in vitam perpetuam' (Dimma); or 'Corpus cum sanguine domini nostri Iesu Christi sanitas tibi in vitam perpetua[m] et salutem' (Deer); or 'Corpus cum s. d. n. I. C. sanitas sit tibi in vitam aeternam' (Mulling).

The 'Book of Mulling' stands alone in containing a blessing of water, no doubt for aspersion, and a blessing of the sick man. The 'Book of Dimma' stands alone in having a Creed (of five articles) and an act of confession by the sick man. No absolution is prescribed in any of the four. They all deserve a full study, which is rendered easy by their publication in Mr. Warren's book, 'Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church,' who has pointed out in the notes many parallels in Gallican forms. The Collect of thanksgiving which appears in Deer, Dimma and Mulling at the end will illustrate the Gallican character of the rite.[41]

The choral thanksgiving which is found, with variations, in all three books, much after the manner

[41] 'Deus, tibi gratias agimus per quem misteria sancta celebravimus, et a te sanctitatis dona deposcimus. Miserere nobis, Domine, salvator mundi. Qui regnas in secula seculorum. Amen' (Deer). Dimma is rather shorter, and Mulling addresses it to God the Father.

of what is technically called a 'Respond,' is also interesting. Deer and Mulling, as usual, practically agree in this part against Dimma and Stowe.

(6) Besides these Sacramental forms there was an elaborate Order for the chanting of the Psalter, usually called the *Cursus Scottorum*, which was laid down by St. Columban for the direction of his monks. I cannot pretend to have exactly fathomed the meaning of his directions, but the following principles are apparent in them: (1) that many more Psalms were to be sung in the long nights of winter than in the short summer nights; (2) that on Saturday and Sunday many more were to be sung than on other days; (3) that two Psalms chanted by a single voice, that of a Psalta, were to be followed by one chanted antiphonally by two choirs (an Antiphona).

On Saturdays and Sundays in winter, which began on November 1, the whole Psalter was said, half on each night, in twenty-five groups of three Psalms, *i.e.* seventy-five on Saturday and seventy-five on Sunday. At the end of winter, every week, a group of three Psalms was taken off, until, at the end of the quarter, only twelve groups or thirty-six Psalms remained, this being the number sung on Saturdays and Sundays during the short nights of midsummer. The daily allowance for winter nights was also thirty-six, and that, as I understand, for summer nights, twenty-four.[42]

[42] See his rule reprinted from Gallandi in *P. L.* 80, p. 212, and the quotations on this point in Warren's *Antiphoner*, ii. p. xii foll., and a useful note there given from Dom G. Morin. 'Antiphona' seems to be used here, as in the *Pilgrimage of Silvia*, for a psalm

The day hours seem to have consisted of single groups of three Psalms with a Litany after each Psalm.[43]

No mention, it will be observed, is made of lessons from Scripture in the night or day hours.

B. *Anglo-Saxon Books.*—If the Celtic Liturgy was largely overlaid and superseded by the Roman, much more inevitably was this the case with the Anglo-Saxon books in a country which had so much more direct intercourse with Rome than any Celtic land. Nevertheless, Gregory the Great was not a mere enthusiast for Roman forms, and encouraged Augustine to take up what was good wherever he found it; and we may imagine that a travelled man like Theodore of Tarsus, the real founder of the English Church as it is, would be even more broad in his sympathies than the Roman monk and his companions. Hence, books brought from Rome were supplemented both by Gallican and Celtic forms. The victory lay nominally with the Roman rite, but much, which afterwards came to be considered and even imposed as Roman, was due to other influences.

(1) *Pontifical of Egbert.*—A great number of A.-S. books have come down to us, but, interesting as they are for particular points, none are as im-

sung antiphonally, not for an antiphon or anthem. 'Chorus' seems to be used for a group of Psalms.

[43] 'Per diurnas terni Psalmi horas pro operum interpositione statuti sunt a senioribus nostris, cum versiculorum augmento intervenientium, pro peccatis primum nostris, deinde pro omni populo Christiano, deinde pro sacerdotibus et reliquis Deo consecratis sacrae plebis gradibus, postremo pro eleemosynas facientibus, postea pro pace regum, novissime pro inimicis. . . .'

portant as the Stowe Missal and the Irish song-books. The most important is the so-called *Pontifical of Egbert* called after the Archbishop of York of that name (A.D. 732–766). It is preserved in an Evreux MS. some 200 years later than the time of the Archbishop—now at Paris, where it is numbered 'Bib. Nat. 10575 (*olim* 138).' It was edited by the Rev. W. Greenwell, of Durham, for the Surtees Society. It is perhaps the earliest text of a Pontifical properly so-called. It also contains a service particularly interesting to us at this time, that for the coronation of an English sovereign, in its earliest form. Additional matter from other A.-S. Pontificals has been published, not only by Martene under the various rites, but also by Warren in his Appendices to the 'Leofric Missal,' and by Chr. Wordsworth in the Pontifical of the Church of St. Andrew (De Bernham) and its Appendices (1885). The most important of these last is the 'Liber S. Cuthberti,' and in this the office for Confirmation.

(2) The *Leofric Missal* itself, though in greatest part not English, may be mentioned as an instance of the way in which a mixture of rites often took place, just as happened with the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries in Gaul. Leofric (who may possibly have been a Cornishman) was brought from Lotharingia by Edward the Confessor and made Bishop first of Crediton (1046) and then of Exeter (1050), a see which he continued to hold till 1072. His book is a Lotharingian 'Gregorian' Sacramentary in far its largest part, with the French supplements, and

therefore to that extent Gallican. It was written in Lotharingia early in the tenth century. It contains also an Anglo-Saxon Kalendar with Paschal Tables written in England *circa* A.D. 970. It has also a third and later miscellaneous part consisting of various Masses, manumissions, historical statements etc. written in England partly in the tenth and partly in the eleventh century. It is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in which place it was published in 1883 under the editorship of Mr. F. E. Warren.

Conclusion.

I have endeavoured in the foregoing pages to give a student such an insight into the character of the books, rapidly passed under review, as will enable him to understand better the statements made in the succeeding chapters, and to know where to find what he may want for himself. In the case of some of the less accessible books I have given extracts which may be helpful in detail to the liturgist, and this I have done with the more fulness because I have been obliged to postpone that part of my task which relates to the details of sacramental rites. This volume I have called 'The Ministry of Grace.' I hope some day to be able to publish one with the title 'The Means of Grace.' In the mean time I will make a few concluding and somewhat miscellaneous observations, such as may constantly occur to anyone who attempts to review this department of Church history, and who tries to imagine the con-

nection of events and to perceive the influence of the great Church centres upon one another.

The first is that periods of activity as regards dogma are also periods of activity as to organisation and rites, and that we must expect to find these developments going on together. But after a time we perceive that these developments cease to be of such interest, and men fall into an habitual way of regarding them, a result which seems to be on the whole part of the scheme of divine Providence. We see the contemporary developments of doctrine and practice in the age of Councils from Nicaea to Chalcedon (A.D. 325–451); we see it in the age of Charlemagne; we see it in the age of Innocent III. and the great Schoolmen; we see it in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation of the sixteenth century; we see it in the nineteenth. Sometimes the same, sometimes different persons are prominent in the various activities, and the interest aroused may be reactionary as well as progressive. But in either case the interest after a time dies down and becomes the possession of scholars. This seems to be God's way of preventing the Church, and the separate portions of it, from being irrevocably committed to disproportionately exact and oppressive dogmas on matters of secondary importance, as all matters of organisation and ritual are. If there is any one lesson more than another which this study can teach us, it is that, while we acknowledge the practical value of organisation and rites and the blessing of continuity in their use, we recognise the very great range of variety which has prevailed at different

times concerning them, and that we ought to make far more of unity in the great doctrines of the faith than of submission to external uniformity.

As regards the action of the Church of Rome in these matters, we see that it has shown throughout, for good and for evil, much more interest in the department of order than in that of rites. Its wise interference in the time of Clement at Corinth, its rough interference under Victor in the Paschal question, are a type of its actions wise and unwise through succeeding centuries. As regards ritual, the tendency of Rome, on the whole, has been to simplicity and practicality rather than to elaborateness. It has often been reluctant to accept embellishments. But elaborateness, when accepted, has been treated too much as if it were *de fide*.

The reluctance to admit embellishments is specially seen in the history of the first eight or nine centuries, and is evident, *e.g.*, even now, by the rarity of the use of incense in Roman churches compared with its constant presence in Oriental ones. When Rome did adopt external rites and usages, as it seems to have adopted Gallican rites of Ordination and perhaps also Gallican features in the Liturgy, it did so without much insight or liturgical tact. Even the Roman 'Canon Missae,' venerable and beautiful as it is in some respects, has several grave blots of this kind, and the Ordination service is a strangely confused compilation. The changes adopted in Ordination forms have led first the Schoolmen, who knew little or nothing of the history of rites, and then Eugenius IV., and then

quite lately Leo XIII., to untenable positions in regard to what is or is not valid. Sometimes, as in the case of the requirement of the presence of a Bishop in Confirmation, the Roman sense of orderliness has been of great practical advantage to the Church. Sometimes, as in the imposition of asceticism upon the clergy, begun by Siricius and continued by Gregory VII. and his successors, it has led to a breach with human nature which has been a very serious impediment to holiness and to stability. The crowning mischief has been the adoption from scholastic philosophy of the easily expressed but untenable dogma of Transubstantiation, which has changed the solemn Eucharist from a home-like communion feast, glorifying God for all past mercies, especially those of redemption, and providing present and anticipating a future spiritual union with a returning Messiah, into a drama, gazed upon by generally irresponsible spectators, in which the priest and his assistants are often the only active participators. The adoption of this mischievous definition was no doubt due to a wish to cut off disorder by an easy test and to promote reverence, but it also shows Roman insensibility to the true import of ritual and the true conception of Sacraments.

As regards other Churches, the close connection of Alexandria with Rome, due probably at first to the mission of St. Mark from the imperial city, and kept up by continual official, social and commercial intercourse by sea, is one on which I shall have frequent occasion to comment. The influence was certainly in some degree reciprocal, though how

far Rome was affected by Egyptian customs is not easy to ascertain. We meet with evidence of Alexandrian influence in the Roman calculation of Easter and in the adoption of monastic life. We meet with Roman influence at Alexandria in the adoption of the longer Lent fast in the time of St. Athanasius. We see striking similarity in the slow development of the monarchical episcopate. If we could recover the Epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria 'to the Romans' we should, probably, learn much more on the whole subject of the connection of these two leading Churches.

As regards Africa, that was at first almost an ecclesiastical colony from Rome and Italy, and yet it had many customs which were either peculiar to itself and the product of native genius, or were of Eastern origin. One was the daily Eucharist, in regard to which Africa stands alone in the ante-Nicene Church. Another is the washing of the feet of the newly baptised, which is Eastern and Gallican, but certainly not Roman.

The early influence of Montanism in Africa cannot but have brought with it other elements of Church life besides those of doctrine; while the independent attitude adopted by Cyprian on the question of rebaptism and generally in his dealings with Rome, and the strong antagonism later on in the province to 'transmarina iudicia'—generally a polite term for 'appeals to Rome'—are evidences that Roman influence, though original, was by no means supreme or continuous.

There was in fact a great widespread so-called 'Gallican' rite, which probably had its precursors in earlier times, but became prevalent from the middle of the fourth century onwards, which occupied far the larger part of the Western Empire. I have already spoken of this in the section on Western Liturgical books, and will not attempt to add to what has been said there. If it came directly or indirectly from the Pontic 'Diocese' of the Roman Empire, it is one evidence of many how influences, which have little or no abiding memorial in their own home, may have an after-life of great power elsewhere, as Montanism, which came from this region, certainly had.

The fact, however, that Rome was, in the narrower sense of the term, the only 'Apostolic' See in the West, as well as the seat of Imperial Government, rendered its influence naturally paramount in its relations with the barbarous and semi-barbarous provinces of the West. As these provinces became more civilised, the internal weakness of Gaul, which for some reason or other has never systematically accepted provincial organisation, and never for long had strong metropolitans, threw it alternately upon Royal and Papal power. In England gratitude and a certain sympathy of character for a long time established another kind of attachment to the Roman See.

I have said that Alexandria and Rome generally symbolised together; so did Antioch and Constantinople, while Alexandria and Antioch were perpetual rivals. And just as the weak organisation of Gaul

led it to be drawn under the strong organisation of Rome, so the weak Patriarchate of Antioch (to this day the special seed-plot of personal and racial schisms) was drawn, and will probably be drawn more thoroughly, under the sway of the new Rome. Whatever civil power may bear rule at Constantinople, it will be a natural ambition of the 'Oecumenical' patriarchate to draw all the Greeks of Asia Minor and Syria under its control. In many respects this would be a desirable thing, but it would probably accentuate the antagonism between Greek and Syrian.

The Church of Palestine has had a double position. Geographically and historically it has been subjected to alternate influences from Syria and Egypt, just as in the time of the Jewish monarchy. But it has also had an oecumenical position as a place of pilgrimage from every part of Christendom. It is this which is its abiding glory, and which I desire to see better understood by both the clergy and the laity of the Church of England. It appears to me that it is worth the while of our Church to do very much more to acquire a stronger position in the holy City than we at present possess. Without encroaching upon the legitimate influence of the Eastern communions there represented, Greek, Armenian, Syrian, Coptic and Abyssinian, or of those of other European nations—Russian, French, German, Austrian and Italian—we ought, both for the sake of historical and liturgical study and for the influence which a proper representation of the Anglican communion would certainly exercise,

to send some of our best and strongest men to live and study there for a certain period, and to develop the friendly relations which already exist between ourselves and the other native and pilgrim Churches. We ought to become more of a pilgrim Church ourselves. Jerome at Bethlehem was more powerful than Jerome at Rome.

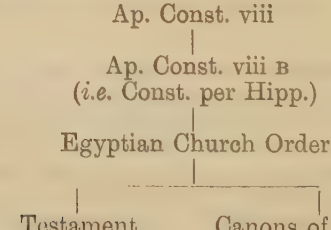
The great barrier between ourselves and the Orthodox Eastern Church is probably one created by the influence of Frankish authority upon the Synod of Jerusalem or Bethlehem in the year 1672.[44] It will take a long time to undo the results of that influence, which made the term 'Transubstantiation' almost an integral part of Greek theology. I should not, however, despair of success in this matter if the Eastern patriarchates were made familiar with the solid and sober central party of the Anglican Church—not averse from a moderate and dignified ritual, and believers in the great value of the Sacraments and the offices of the ministry as means of grace—but above all

[44] The general teaching of Transubstantiation to some extent is found in the latinising *Confessio Orthodoxa*, published by Peter Mogilas of Kieff in 1640, of course against Cyril Lucar, who denied it. But the full scholastic definition and the word are not found, I think, in any authoritative document before 1672. For the texts see Kimmel, *Mon. Fidei Eccl. Orientalis*, pp. 36 (Cyril), 126 (Mogilas), 458 and 461 (Synod); Jena, 1850. The pressure exercised by the French ambassador is described by J. Covel, *Account of the Present Greek Church*, pp. 136 foll. Camb. 1722, and J. Aymon, *Monumens authentiques de la Religion des Grecs*, La Haye, 1708. Cp. E. Michaud, *Rev. Int. de Th.*, pp. 217–242, 1895, and Alb. Vandal, *Les Voyages du Marquis de Nointel*, Paris, 1900.

believers in the Incarnation and Atonement, the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of His abiding presence through His Holy Spirit in His Church. This belief, which I trust is really fuller, if not stronger, in English-speaking Christians than in any other nationality —not even excepting the Russian—is the power which must in the end interpret rites and organisation and give them whatever effectiveness they are to retain and display in days to come. The faith of believers will be, in detail as well as in general outline, the future faith of Christendom.

Note on Funk's Book on the 'Testament of our Lord' (see above, p. 33).

This book, entitled *Das Testament des Herrn und die verwandten Schriften*, von F. X. Funk, Mainz, 1901, has only come into my hands during the printing of this Introduction. It is an elaborate defence of the thesis that the following is the correct filiation of the class of books to which the *Testament* belongs :



As far as I have been able to read it, I do not feel convinced by it. It seems to me to overlook certain important evidence and to be too much coloured by antagonism to Achelis, and therefore hardly independent enough.

I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONARCHICAL EPISCOPATE—MORE RAPID IN THE EAST—SLOWER IN ROME AND ALEXANDRIA.

'THE Law (says St. John i. 17) was given by Moses, the Grace and the Truth came into being[1] by Jesus Christ.' This aphorism of the greatest of Christian theologians involves an important contrast between the persons who brought these two great gifts to man, the gifts themselves and the manner of their giving. Moses, the servant, gave an external code of rules once for all on Sinai. Jesus Christ, the Son, brought God's message to bear on the whole inward life of the believer, and brought it gradually, as man's need required. The Church historian must bear this always in mind, and must also remember that 'grace and truth,' or, as early Christian writers call it, 'life and knowledge,'[2] should always be

[1] See Bishop Westcott's note for this meaning of *ἐγένετο* here. There is a like meaning in the yet higher utterance of i. 14, *ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο.*

[2] See the *Didaché*, ix. 3 and x., and cp. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, i. 146 foll. E. T. In the Pastoral Epistles we find the characteristic phrase *ἐπίγνωσις τῆς ἀληθείας.*

thought of in combination. We may, for the sake of convenience, trace the history of organisation and rites apart from that of doctrine and of moral and social progress, but we must always keep an eye on the latter. Unless we do so, we shall fail to distinguish what is temporary from what is permanently valuable in the outward form of Church life.

Part of this grace and truth must certainly be sought for in some form of Church organisation. Our Lord came to found a visible Church, not to create a school of philosophy. This is clearly suggested by His constant use of the term 'Kingdom of Heaven,' even when it was likely to arouse suspicion and jealousy; and His definite acceptance of the title of King from the mouth of Pilate[3] manifestly implies external organisation. He made provision for it after His withdrawal from earth by renewing in a permanent form the commission which He had given to the Apostles in the central period of His Ministry. If it is a fair description of that Ministry to call it (with F. D. Maurice) the 'Education of the Apostles,' we may well call the forty days after the Resurrection (which are a foretaste of the heavenly life) the 'Commission of the Apostles.' In those days He removed the limits which He had previously set to their activity; He gave them the world for their sphere and made them His representatives in it; He bade them make disciples of all nations, and introduce

[3] It is hardly necessary to remark that 'My Kingdom is not of this world,' in St. John xviii. 36, means 'My Kingdom has not its origin from (*ex*) this world.'

them into His kingdom by baptism into the threefold name; He left them to teach His commandments; He looked forward to a continuance of their ministry to the end of time. Thus the elements of Catholicity as regards time and place and persons are found in the Lord's own words about the Apostles' work. And, as regards the details of that work, the later commission far excels the former, and in it this portion of grace and truth at last 'came into being.' The first commission bade them preach, but the contents of their message were very slightly indicated (St. Matt. x. 7, 22, 33, 37 foll.; St. Mark vi. 12; St. Luke ix. 2, 6). Its connection with the name of Christ was implied and with it the call to repentance. But in the latter[4] stress was laid on the appeal to the Old Testament as throughout prophetic of Christ, and on the duty of being His witnesses (St. Luke xxiv. 44–48). He—Jesus Christ—His Person and His Life—this is the Gospel. As His witnesses the Apostles were taught specially to expect the Holy Spirit (ἔσεσθέ μου μάρτυρες, Acts i. 8). There is a difference also in the means put into their hands for the work. At first they are ordered to heal the sick, and to cast out devils; but in the later commission, though these miraculous gifts are not withdrawn or forgotten, they are clearly treated as subordinate to the preaching of repentance and remission of sins[5] and to the ministry of grace which accompanies it.

[4] In order of time St. John xx. 21–23; St. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20 = St. Mark xvi. 15, 16, partly = St. Luke xxiv. 44–48 and 49; Acts i. 7, 8.

[5] Especially in the Gospels according to St. Luke and St. John.

The Sacraments, which benefit the spiritual life, take the place which at first is occupied largely by physical blessings. Thus the preaching of repentance is definitely connected with remission of sins in Baptism, and round it grows an abiding sense of a new and permanent relation to God which changes the whole attitude of life. Nor is this gift confined to the moment of conversion, but the divine Society on which the Saviour has breathed is invested with the power to remit and retain sins which it exercises from the first through its special organs and representatives. Nor is there lacking another, and, in this case too, a double Sacrament, to render permanent and continuous those spiritual blessings which the presence of Christ on earth had made so precious to His disciples. The Sacrament of His Body was one for which they were abundantly prepared. It supplied the place of His healing, strengthening, vivifying touch, such as He had shown it in cleansing the leper, lifting up Peter's wife's mother, raising from the dead Jairus's daughter, and healing multitudes besides. The Sacrament of His Blood was a new thought to them, interpreted by Calvary and the Ascension. It bore historic witness to the Atonement and to its perpetual pleading by their Saviour, while to the believer it became the sign of the new covenant, the infusion of a new personal life into the soul, the gift of a new heart and a new spirit. Our Saviour clearly meant these two Sacraments to convey distinct gifts, and it is thoughtless to confuse them, and presumptuous in

a high degree to make one do duty for both. Yet both are for ever joined together by His love.

The moral reasons for this change are obvious. A Gospel which perpetually reminded mankind that the world was in the power of Satan, and that it needed physical miracles to exorcise him and to break his bonds, would have been permanently depressing to human will. Nor after the Crucifixion and Resurrection was it as necessary as it had been. The victory was won; and the appeal was now open to the better part of man's nature to spring forward and salute the light.

For the history of the reception of this appeal we have to go to the books of the New Testament outside the Gospels, some before the decade (A.D 60–70) in which the three earliest written Gospels were published, some like the Acts and many of St. Paul's Epistles during it, and some, like the Gospel and Epistles of St. John at any rate, later. But in all it is the ministry of the same word and the same Sacraments that converts and builds up mankind and draws them into one body and household, the Church of God.

Without asserting that all is clear in the development of the organisation implied or described in the literature of the first century (to which we may also safely assign the Epistle of the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth circulated under the name of Clement) we are quite certain of the following points in it. First, organisation everywhere existed where Christ was preached, having its recognised centres in

the cities. Secondly, association with the body was regarded as a moral duty and as a means of grace.[6] Thirdly, the local communities felt themselves to stand in a certain close relation to their neighbours, as well as to have fellowship with the Church in every land.

The incidents of the great day of Pentecost were a sort of prophecy of the national organisation of Christendom. Wherever the Gospel was preached it adapted itself to the natural divisions of the people, 'The Church which is at Corinth, with all the saints that are in the whole of Achaia' (2 Cor. i. 1); 'The Churches of Macedonia' (*ib.* viii. 1); 'The Churches of Galatia' (1 Cor. xvi. 1, Gal. i. 2); 'The Churches of Asia' (2 Cor. xvi. 19, Apoc. i. 4); 'They of Italy' (Hebr. xiii. 24)—these are phrases from

[6] Cp. St. Jude 19: 'Those who make separations, sensual, having not the Spirit;' Heb. x. 25: 'Not forsaking the assembling of yourselves together as the manner of some is,' and the Hebrew parallels collected by Schoettgen *ad loc.* The striking saying, 'Cling closely to the saints; for those that cling closely to the saints shall be sanctified,' is quoted as Scripture by Clement, *Ep.* 46, 2, and may be from some lost Gospel or a traditional saying of our Lord: see Resch. *Agrapha*, p. 169 (*T. und U.* vol. v., 1889); Ropes, *Sprüche Jesu*, p. 22 (*ib.* xiv. 1896), supposes it to be a pre-Christian interpolation of Ps. 18, 25. Cp. Barnabas, 4, 10, and Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 26, 3, and many passages of the Epistles of Saint Ignatius. Harnack (with his frequent tendency to take the 'second handle') refers to these passages to prove that there were Christians in early ages who stood outside the communities. This is not to be doubted. There have been always men who preferred a philosophy of religion to a religion. One remarkable instance is that of Victorinus recorded by Augustine in his *Confessions*, viii. 2, who at first made a jest of the pressure put upon him to make a public confession of faith: 'Ergo parietes faciunt Christianos?' But the general good sense of Christendom prevailed in his case, and his example produced a great impression.

different early documents, and others like them could be added. They indicate clearly the beginnings of a provincial system following the lines of civil division. Organisation went on in fact, as a matter of course, on national and provincial lines, as fast as the growth of the Church made it feasible. We have now to consider what were the influences which affected its growth as regards the officers of the community thus in course of extension.

Two influences evidently were about it from the beginning: that of the Judaism from which it sprung, with its synagogue-system and its traditions of Temple worship, and that of the heathen society which it was called to leaven and purify. That both contributed to mould Church organisation it is impossible to doubt: the question is how and to what extent.

The synagogues in the Acts appear as the nurseries of the infant Churches, from which indeed they are often prematurely ejected. For a time the Apostles and their companions were invited or permitted to preach in the synagogues whether to a purely Jewish or a mixed congregation; and in so doing they made many converts. It does not appear that in any case a *whole* congregation became Christian; so that we may suppose that the normal course of events was the separation after a time of the Christian portion. Yet, even when this was done, friendly relations might remain, and, to judge from various indications on the Jewish side, did remain in many cases. Such a secession would naturally retain both the general type of worship and the official system of the body from which

it parted company, as far as they expressed Christian objects. Thus we find the Christian assembly called a 'synagogue' not only in the Epistle of St. James (ii. 2) and in the Ebionite communities, but even in the Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp.[7] It is interesting to notice that the freedom of preaching in Jewish synagogues, which is a feature of primitive Christianity, has continued in some cases to our own day, as may be seen in the biographies of Christian missionaries of our own Church such as Dr. Stern and Dr. Wolff, both of whom frequently were permitted to address the Jews in their own places of worship.

There was also another part of the Jewish system which had its evident influence on the Christian community: namely, that of Temple worship and the thoughts of priesthood and sacrifice. We find traces of this in the synagogue-worship itself as well as in the daily home-life of the Jewish people; but it naturally expressed itself more strongly in Christian worship, in which the thoughts of Christ's sacrifice and eternal high-Priesthood were connected with the Eucharistic service held every Sunday. At first the identification of the clergy with the priesthood was in the background, but it soon came forward and was especially powerful in establishing the position of the Bishop, as we shall presently show.

[7] Ign. *Ad Polyc.* 4: Πυκνότερον αἱ συναγωγαὶ γινέσθωσαν. Ἐξ ὀνόματος πάντας ζήτει. The last words imply that all were summoned by name as to do a Christian duty. Cp. Heb. x. 25. Epiph. *Haer.* 30, 18, says not only that the Ebionites call their church a synagogue, but that they have 'chiefs of the synagogue' and 'elders.'

On the other hand, as the Church was propagated into other lands than Syria and Palestine it could not remain unaffected by the influences then prevailing in heathen religious thought. That thought set strongly towards private religious associations of a philanthropic and mysterious character, and under this influence Oriental rites obtained a great footing of popularity in the Graeco-Roman world. While the aristocratic side of Christianity tended to the discipline of Judaism, its democratic and enthusiastic side led it to assimilate elements from the clubs and secret societies of heathenism in which the poor were largely interested. Both these tendencies have their advantages and their corresponding dangers. The danger that arises from Judaism is the separation of the clergy from the people, ending in sacerdotalism. The danger from contact with heathen religious ideas is that of Gnosticism, the transformation of means of grace, demanding a response of faith and life in the believer, into magical ceremonies not involving responsibility in the recipients. The Catholic Church has ever to strive to give due honour to the clergy and the sacraments without these exaggerations.

If, leaving these general considerations, we look into the constitution of the synagogues, from which our forefathers seceded, we shall find that they were ruled by a Chief or Chiefs of the Synagogue and a body of Elders or Presbyters. In the hands of this Council of Elders lay the important decision whether a member was to be admitted to or expelled from the congregation. The Chief of the Synagogue had the

ordering of the service, but, unlike the Christian Bishop, he did not necessarily take a leading part in it. He decided whether a person present might preach or not (Acts xiii. 15) and who was to read the lessons or to lead the prayers.[8] Besides the superior officers and officiants for the time, there were inferior officers such as the Châzan, a sort of Precentor, and the Shâmmash or servant, whose duty was to clean the building, light the lamps and keep the keys etc., answering to the Deacons and the minor orders of the Church. The Collectors of alms, who are also mentioned, were civil rather than religious officers,[9] and may, in a measure, be considered to represent our Churchwardens.

The parallel between this organisation and that of the early Church with its superior Order or Council (*ordo, consessus, praepositi, praesidentes*, κλῆρος, ἡγούμενοι, προϊστάμενοι etc.) of Bishops and Presbyters, and its inferior order of Deacons or servants, cannot be missed. But just as the relation of the 'Chiefs of the Synagogue' to the 'Elders' is uncertain, so is that of Bishops to Presbyters in the earliest age. The titles in the Christian Church are used in a most perplexing way in its early literature. Sometimes we read of Bishops, sometimes of Presbyters; sometimes, in the same document, where one name has been previously used, the other is found later without

[8] The person who for the moment led the prayers was called Sheliach tsibbûr or 'Nuntius (Apostolus) congregationis': cp. Buxtorf, *Lex. s.v.* and Schürer, *N. T. Zeitgeschichte*, ii. pp. 366, 368.

[9] Gabâey-ts^{e}dâqâh; see Buxtorf, *Lex. s.v.* p. 375, and Schürer, *l.c.* 367.

any obvious distinction, as in the account of St. Paul's speech to the clergy of Ephesus at Miletus (Acts xx. 17 and 28) and in his Epistle to Titus (i. 5 and 7).[10] But this may fairly be said, that wherever the two are differentiated, the title 'Bishop' tends to be the higher, and to be limited to a single person.

What, then, is the origin of this title? It cannot be from Châzan, to which it corresponds etymologically, since the Châzan is always one of the lower order.[11] Nor does it seem likely that it is simply borrowed from those passages in the Greek Bible which are quoted to illustrate the Christian use. They have the appearance of being selected to justify an existing nomenclature rather than themselves to be the source of it.[12]

[10] It is surely not accidental that St. Paul ordained 'Presbyters' in every city in the south of Asia Minor, where Jewish communities were strong, and speaks only of 'Bishops and Deacons' in writing to Philippi, where the Jewish element was weak. For other references bearing on this confused use of nomenclature see Gebhardt on S. Clem. *Ad Cor.* 1, 3.

[11] Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, iv. 87, ed. 2, 1866, considers the titles equivalent, but without discussion.

[12] I refer especially to Ps. lxix. 26, quoted in the Acts (i. 20) in reference to Judas, 'his bishopric (ἐπισκοπήν) let another take,' and Isaiah lx. 17, quoted by Clement *Ad Cor.* 42, 5, in a peculiar version, as referring to Christian 'Bishops and Deacons.' The literal translation of the Hebrew is, 'I will also make thy government [*p'qudâh*, ἄρχοντας LXX, ἐπισκόπους Clem. following LXX usage elsewhere] peace, and thine exactors *or* taskmasters [ἐπισκόπους LXX, διακόνους Clem.] righteousness.' The second word is from Heb. *nâgas*, and is elsewhere rendered by LXX ἐργοδιῶκται, ἐπίσταται, πράκτορες, ἀπαιτοῦντες, etc. St. Irenaeus, on the other hand, quotes the passage from the LXX in reference to the Christian ministry

Probably, therefore, Dr. Hatch is right [13] when he suggests that the word 'Bishop' is rather borrowed from the Greek secular associations in which ἐπίσκοπος or ἐπιμελητής was a frequent title for the overseer or Treasurer who invested the funds of the Society and decided on their distribution. The oversight of finance has always been an important function of the Episcopate. But Dr. Hatch, with the ardour of a discoverer proclaiming a neglected truth, and (I must add) with some anti-sacerdotal bias, has somewhat exaggerated this side of a Bishop's duties, forgetful of such counsels as that of St. Paul, who writes to Titus that 'exhortation with sound doctrine and convincing gainsayers' is a Bishop's special duty (Titus, i. 9). His treasury was in fact God's, not man's, and there was particular need to husband it well in a society largely consisting of the poor to whom the Gospel was to be preached; and so it was placed in the hands of the chief spiritual and fatherly authority of the community. This thought is well put in the 'Didascalia' (ed. Lagarde, ii. 27, p. 260): 'It is right that you also should make your oblations to the Bishop either in person or by the deacons: for he knows those who are afflicted, and gives to each according to what is suitable, so that it will not happen that one should receive several times

of Presbyters (*Haer.* iv. 26, 5). The words ἐπίσκοπος and ἐπισκοπή elsewhere in the LXX generally answer to some form of the Hebrew *pâqad*, to visit, but of some civil or military service or minor oversight.

[13] *Organisation of the Early Christian Churches*, p. 37 (Bampton Lectures for 1880), Rivingtons, 1881.

in the same day or the same week, and another not at all.

The actual steps, indeed, by which a single officer, bearing the title of Bishop, arose in every Church, and became its head in nearly every function of the ministry, both within and without the community, are not easy to trace with certainty. It is not, however, difficult to understand the process and to conjecture its course. As long as the Apostles lived they would be able to supply general control, so as to make it unnecessary for each community to have an independent and permanent head. Yet even during their lifetime they seem to have thought it right that the Church of Jerusalem should have a single head in the person of St. James, who presided even when some of them were present (Acts xv. 13, 19). In other cases, during their absence they would leave temporary delegates like Timothy and Titus, to establish the necessary constitution of the Churches in a district.[14]

But on their deaths a threefold necessity would be felt for the establishment and continuance of unity. First we must remember the essential need of unity in the faith, especially in opposition to heresy, which is best secured through a tradition handed on by a single responsible leader in constant

[14] It is to such delegates, I presume, that St. Clement refers when he is describing the injustice of driving from their office those who had been 'appointed by the Apostles or since their time by *other men of repute* (ἐλλόγιμοι ἄνδρες) with the consent of the whole Church' (*Ad Cor.* 44, 3). Cp. Eus. *H. E.* iii. 37, see below, p. 147.

communication with similar colleagues outside in the same district. Secondly we must put unity of administration, which becomes essential as a community grows in wealth and comes into frequent relations with the civil power. Thirdly we must name unity of worship, which in process of time was seen to be almost as important a bond as unity of faith, and even in the Apostles' time had led to various regulations on which they thought it fit to insist peremptorily.

With regard to unity in the faith, it is remarkable that it is the point singled out by the able commentator, whom it is convenient to call Hilary the Deacon, but who is now supposed by some to be Isaac the Jew,[15] as leading to the difference of Bishops from Presbyters, 'that the thickets of heresies might be rooted out' ('In Titum,' i. 5). And it is not too much to say that Episcopacy grew up faster or slower according to the faster or slower growth of opposing schools.

As regards relation to the State, Duchesne[16] has rightly quoted a general maxim of Roman Law requiring every corporate body to have its 'actor' or representative. No doubt Christian bodies did not become corporate so soon as Jewish, but they were

[15] G. Morin and Th. Zahn (*Th. Lit. blatt.* xx. 314–317, 1899).

[16] *Origines du culte chr.* p. 8, referring to Gaius in the *Digest*, iii. 4, 1: 'Quibus permissum est corpus habere collegii, societatis, sive cuiusque alterius eorum nomine, proprium est ad exemplum rei publicae habere res communes, arcam communem et actorem sive syndicum, per quem tamquam in republica quod communiter agi fierique oporteat agatur fiat.' 'Actor' here = *οἰκονόμος*, as Iren. iv. 26, 5, after Matt. xxiv. 45 = Luke xii. 42, and Tert. *Cont. Marc.* iv. 29.

naturally anxious to do everything that might help them to acquire corporate rights. It is indeed not impossible that the extension of taxation from Jewish to Christian communities ascribed to Domitian may have contributed indirectly to the protection of the Church by the State and have increased the necessity for the official representation of its interests.[17]

As regards worship, while I do not overlook the dangers of sacerdotalism or undervalue the beauty of simplicity, and while I recognise that the idea of priestly character in the Bishop was the latest of the three factors to emerge, and is less important in the permanency of its forms than the other two, I cannot consider it by any means a corrupt development. Clearly it ought not to be permitted to obscure either the unique high-Priesthood and Mediatorship of our Saviour or the priestly character of the whole congregation; and where it has done so it has done evident mischief. But there is the same caution to be observed in regard to other offices of Christ.

The clergy have a special call to represent our Saviour in his titles of Prophet and King, of Good Shepherd and Door, yet they must beware of forgetting His unique hold upon these titles, on the one hand, and the share which all full members of the Christian body have in them, on the other. But as the office of Bishop everywhere emerged into prominence, particularly in the first fifty years of the third century, it was inevitable that all the excellencies

[17] Cp. Langen, *Gesch. der Röm. Kirche*, i. 70.

of the Christian character possible to man should be assigned to it, at any rate as indications of what the Church desired to see in its leaders. The Bishop then, as a central authority in a sacrificial worship offered by the whole priestly race, became inevitably the *ἀρχιερεύς* or 'sacerdos,' terms which came into use about the first quarter of the third century and were accepted generally from the middle of the same period. (See the 'Didascalia,' ed. Lagarde, ii. 25 foll. p. 206 ; and below, pp. 133, 134 n. 35, 145 n. 2.)

In all this we are to perceive the hand of God gradually building up an institution necessary for His Church. These forces, as I have remarked, acted more quickly in some places than in others. In Jerusalem, which was a sort of model and ideal community, a Symeon naturally took the place of his brother James, and so the succession of Bishops was established. So it was in Asia Minor, where St. John lived and laboured, especially in conflict with heresy, for perhaps some thirty years.[18] So it was in Antioch and its neighbourhood, where tradition went back nearly as far as it did at Jerusalem. It is evidence from these three centres, particularly the explicit evidence of the Epistles of St. Ignatius of Antioch, that enables us to accept, without reserve, the statement of the preface to our Ordinal that 'from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church ; Bishops, Priests and Deacons.'

[18] The 'Angels' of the Apocalypse considered as Bishops fall in with the evidence supplied by Ignatius, and belong to a district where sees were small and Bishops frequent.

But loyal and thankful acceptance of this statement does not preclude us from observing that in two of the greatest Church centres, closely connected with one another, namely Rome and Alexandria, episcopacy did not grow with the rapidity which marked its progress in Palestine, Syria and Asia.

In the most important Church of the West, which specially claimed to preserve Apostolic tradition, the order of Bishops was not sharply divided from that of Presbyters, until some time after the death of St. John. What the Apostles Peter and Paul had left it may be clearly inferred from the famous letter upon the treatment due to Christian ministers written by the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth but generally known to us by the name of Clement, though it is throughout anonymous (cp. ch. 21, 6). In this letter there is frequent mention of Presbyters and in one place of 'Bishops and Deacons,' but never of all three orders together.[19] The traces of a threefold order that are visible are those of Apostles or their delegates (ch. 44), Presbyters or Bishops forming a College, and Deacons (chs. 40, 42, 43). The titles Presbyters and Bishops seem to be interchangeable, as in the Epistle to Titus. Striking evidence in the same direction is

[19] In *Clement*, ch. 44, Presbyters and Bishops seem to be interchangeable terms. I am not convinced by the augments of Dr. J. H. Bernard to the contrary (*Pastoral Epistles*, pp. lxii. foll., 1899). His idea that the ἐπίσκοποι were a sort of managing committee of the larger order of πρεσβύτεροι may have some truth where the two titles are found in the same Church. In *Clement*, 1, 2, and 21, 6 we have ἡγούμενοι or προηγούμενοι and πρεσβύτεροι side by side possibly in this relation. See also below, p. 135, n. 36.

given by the Epistle of St. Ignatius, the champion of the rights of the Episcopate, in his letter to the Church of Rome, written some fifteen or twenty years later. In this outspoken letter he twice speaks of himself as 'Bishop of Syria' or 'of the Church in Syria' (ch. 2 and 9): but he is entirely silent as to any such office in the Church of Rome. He addresses that Church in remarkably laudatory language, and refers to it as the teacher of others (ch. 3), a title probably acquired by the letter ascribed to Clement. If then, Clement, or any other single Church officer, had been 'Bishop of Rome,' in the sense that Ignatius was 'Bishop of Syria,' the language of the latter in writing to Rome would be almost inexplicable. A generation later brings us to the book of Visions and Parables which is the work of another Roman, Hermas, brother (as is stated) of the Roman Bishop Pius, *circa* A.D. 140. Here too, in the 'Shepherd,' we find a condition of things still implied like that implied in the letter to the Corinthians. Government is by a body of Presbyters or Bishops to whom everything is to be referred.[20] There are indeed certain ambiguities, and certain hints of ambition in those who occupy the 'chief seats,'[21] by which no doubt the Presbyters

[20] See Bp. Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 216 foll., and Gebhardt and Harnack in *Apostolic Fathers*, pp. lxxvii. and lxxxi. The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians (A.D. 110–125) speaks only of Presbyters (cc. 5, 6, 11) and Deacons (c. 5), though it would have been most natural for him to have referred to a monarchical Bishop had one existed.

[21] *E.g. Vis.* iii. 9, 7, *Sim.* viii. 7, 6. Cp. Clem. *Strom.* vi. 13, § 106.

are meant, which may point to some change in Church Government in process of accomplishment in the imperial city. I am inclined to think that this inference is correct, and that, from the time of Pius, the Presidency of the College became more markedly an object to be desired by the strong and able or the ambitious, than had hitherto been the case. This tendency was naturally justified, if it needed justification, by the invasion of heretical schools like those of Valentinus, Cerdo and Marcion, who made themselves felt in Rome *circa* A.D. 140–150. It is also noticeable that the tradition of a list of successive Presbyters or Bishops dates from rather later than the middle of the second century, when the Syrian Hegesippus visited Rome in the time of Anicetus, and, as he says, 'made out a succession.'[22]

But if the beginning of the change dates from the time of Pius, the accomplishment was of slow performance; nay, even now we see in the College of Cardinals, who represent the parish priests of Rome, and in the check which they undoubtedly exercise upon the free action of the Roman pontiff, a survival of the early constitution which we are now endeavouring to decipher from the ancient documents. St. Irenaeus, writing about A.D. 180, still uses the terms Presbyter and Bishop as interchangeable, speaking of 'the Presbyters before Anicetus,' 'the Presbyters before Soter,' and the like, these two

[22] Διαδοχὴν ἐποιησάμην, Heg. ap. Eus. *H. E.* iv. 22. The date of Anicetus may be fixed about A.D. 157–161. Zahn would read διατριβήν, *Forsch.* vi. 246 *q.v.*

being the latest Bishops before Eleutherus, in whose age he was writing. In one place he uses the remarkable term 'the Bishops and Presbyters,' speaking of the Ephesian clergy gathered together by St. Paul, and thus illustrates the doubtful usage of the so-called 'Canons of Hippolytus' to which attention will presently be called.[23]

About fifty years later we find St. Hippolytus[24] describing an important case of heresy, the trial of Noetus, as taking place 'before the blessed Presbyters,' and giving details which show that the body, rather than the individual President, acted as the court. If this took place, as seems likely, at Smyrna, it proves that even under the Ignatian system the Presbytery was a strong institution even in cases of heresy.

In the Church Order that bears the name of Hippolytus, and which was probably adapted to Roman use rather before his time, and may be dated *circa* A.D. 200, we find two remarkable rules: first, that 'one of the Bishops and Presbyters' is to be chosen to say the prayer and to lay hands upon the person to be ordained; and, second, that the same prayer is to be used both for a Bishop and a Presbyter, but with only a change in the title.[25] It

[23] Iren. *Haer.* iii. 14. See below, pp. 131–2 and n. 30.

[24] *Contra Noetum*, 1. This little treatise was transcribed bodily by Epiphanius, *Haer.* 57, who only differs in calling Noetus an Ephesian (?) instead of a Smyrnean.

[25] *Canons of Hippolytus*, ch. 10 and 30, 31: see above, p. 22. The same rule in substance is given in the *Egyptian Heptateuch*, 32: 'And when the Bishop shall ordain a Presbyter he shall put his

is also laid down (ch. 32) 'that a Bishop in all things is to be considered equal to a Presbyter, except in the name of the throne and in the [matter of] ordination, because the power of ordination is not given to him' (*i.e.* to the Presbyter). This looks as if the prerogatives implied by the two titles were now being distinguished in the Church of Rome, while as yet this distinction had not been carried very far. From the same Church Order we learn that the Bishop was to be elected by the people; and this was the general rule of the Church. It is not clear whether he needed a further ordination if he were already a Presbyter of the Roman Church. Possibly enthronement in the 'cathedra,' draped in white linen,[26] was considered sufficient, though the C. H. make no suggestion of such a kind.[27] But if he were, as was often the case from the time of Eleutherus,[28] the Deacon of the previous Bishop,

hands on his head, and all the Presbyters shall touch him. And let him pray over him according to the form which we have spoken of concerning the Bishops.' The prayer, however, is omitted.

[26] This draping of the cathedra is mentioned in the record of St. Cyprian's martyrdom in his Life by his Deacon, Pontius.

[27] I quite agree with [Bp.] Charles Gore's general criticism of Dr. Hatch's argument against the necessity of the laying on of hands in the case of a Bishop: see his *Ministry*, note G, p. 384; cp. Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 363 and note. It is, however, I think, quite possible that stretching out of hands, without actual contact, as in later forms of the Roman rite of Confirmation, and in the Abyssinian ordinations in the case of Deacons, was considered sufficient. The important thing was the prayer, the 'Oratio super hominem.' Hence *χειροθεσία* in Greek Liturgies often means simply 'Benediction.' Cp. Origen, *Hom. in Lev.* ii. 4, 'imponant ei manus' = 'let them pray over him,' St. James v. 14. Cp. IV. Tolet. c. 13, A.D. 633.

[28] Eleutherus was Deacon of Anicetus (Heg. in Eus. *H. E.* iv. 22),

he received ordination in the same form as the Presbyters had done, but with the title of Bishop substituted. He was certainly not first ordained Presbyter and then Bishop, but ordained Bishop at once; and such ordination *per saltum* continued at Rome long after it had been given up in the East.[29] In fact it has been thought that Gregory VII. was the first Archdeacon of Rome who was ordained Priest, 22 May, 1073, before his elevation to the Papacy (Batiffol, 'Études,' p. 268).

The fact also that the common form in the old Roman Church Order is the basis for that used elsewhere in the ordination of Bishops, while that for Presbyters, in parallel collections, is of a much simpler type, implies that the presiding Presbytery at Rome was more like a College of Bishops with a chairman than a College of Presbyters with a President of a superior order. The pretensions of Victor at the end of the second century no doubt brought the office of Bishop of Rome forwarder than it had ever been previously carried, so that the provisions of the old Church Order, which apparently

and succeeded Soter. It also became the rule that none but a Presbyter or Deacon of the Roman Church should be ordained its Bishop, but it was more often a Deacon than a Presbyter. The first Bishop of another see elected to the Papacy was Marinus, in 882, not, as usually stated, Formosus in 891. The latter, as being a very famous case, has naturally been best remembered.

[29] Ordination *per saltum* in case of Bishops was forbidden in the Greek version of the Canons of Sardica (no. 10) but not in the original Latin (no. 13). The question of their genuineness need not be raised here. Such ordination is provided for in the 8th of Mabillon's *Ordines*: *P. L.* 78, 1002.

belongs to his age, are all the more remarkable in their simplicity.[30]

Such a body was not unlike that of the Prophets and Teachers of Antioch, of whom we read in the Acts, who thought it quite within their powers to ordain two of their own number, Barnabas and Saul, to a new Apostolate (Acts xiii. 1 foll.). But instead of all the Roman 'Bishops and Presbyters' joining in the laying on of hands, it was determined by their old Church Order that one should be chosen for that purpose. This peculiar provision has had a remarkable issue in the custom that, to the present day (whether with or without interruption in the use), the Pope alone in Christendom ordains Bishops without other Bishops joining him in the laying on of hands. Thus the independence of the City is saved at the expense of the comprovincial Bishops.

A further progress in monarchical episcopacy was made apparently in the Cyprianic age and under the stress of the Novatian schism. We cannot doubt that the maxim so vigorously emphasised by the great African Father, of 'one Bishop to one Church,' as the centre of unity, was the force which finally prevailed at Rome to give the last blow to the College

[30] In this summary of the position of the Episcopate in Rome I am glad to find myself in substantial agreement with Professor Langen, though he does not refer to the *Canons of Hippolytus*. He supposes that the first names, Linus, Anencletus, Clement, might be men who all belonged to the College of Presbyters at the same time (*Gesch. der R. K.* i. 100, 101). Evarestus and Alexander could belong to the same class, but at different times. The Episcopate in the Ignatian sense would date from the time of Pius.

system.[31] This may explain how Hippolytus, in a previous generation, could be a Bishop in some collegiate fashion without being an antipope.[32]

Of course at all times Bishops belong to a College, though in another sense. Every diocesan Bishop is a colleague of all other such Bishops, and especially of those in his own province and country. The restriction of the rights of the City-presbyterate is therefore a corollary to the extension of the rights of the minor sees around the principal city, a very important and necessary element in the growth of the Church. The general principle is that all Bishops are equal and all share in Church government. 'Epi-

[31] Cp. Cyprian's succinct statement in *Ep.* 43, 5: 'Deus unus est et Christus unus et una ecclesia et cathedra una . . . unum altare et unum sacerdotium.' His treatise *De Ecclesiae Catholicae Unitate* was probably first an oration at a council on the Novatian schism: see Abp. Benson's *Cyprian*, pp. 134, 180 foll. The principle 'unum Deum esse et unum Christum esse Dominum, quem confessi sumus, unum sanctum Spiritum, unum episcopum in catholica esse debere,' was enunciated by the Roman confessors, as reported by Cornelius in Cypr. *Ep.* 49, 2, and implied by Cornelius himself in his description of his own Church sent to Antioch (ap. Eus. *H. E.*); cp. Hatch, *Organisation*, pp. 102–4, and Gore, *The Ch. and the Ministry*, p. 165.

[32] See Salmon *s.v.* 'Hippolytus' in *D. Chr. Biog.* p. 91, and cp. Gore, *Ministry*, p. 165. Epiphanius, *Haer.* 68, 7, remarks that 'Alexandria never had two Bishops as the other cities had'; cp. *Haer.* 27, *Carpocrat.* 6, where he makes SS. Peter and Paul Bishops together (Ἐν Ῥώμῃ γὰρ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, εἶτα Λῖνος κ.τ.λ.). In *Haer.* 69, *Arian.* 1, he contrasts the 'one archbishop' and the parochial Presbyters. Gore, *The Ch. and the M.* ed. 5, p. 152 n., explains 'never had two Bishops' as if it meant 'never had a schismatic as well as an orthodox Bishop,' but I do not think this at all certain, though it is a possible interpretation. It seems more natural to suppose that Epiphanius is explaining how, after Alexander's death, there was no orthodox Bishop present to protect the Church.

scopatus unus est, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.' 'The Episcopate is one, and all Bishops are full partners in it, with joint and several responsibility' ('De Unitate,' 5; *v.i.* p. 173). But for all that it is held to be right that causes should be finished where they begin,[33] and that appeals should not go beyond the province.

There is another element in the Cyprianic theology of the ministry which had a great effect in separating the Episcopate from the Presbyterate, as afterwards in separating clergy from laity. This is the theory of the high-priesthood or priesthood of Bishops. St. Cyprian did not indeed invent it, but took it up from his master Tertullian, in whom we find both 'ara' used for the holy table ('De Orat.' 14 etc.)[34] and 'summus sacerdos qui est episcopus' ('De Bapt.' 17, *v.s.* p. 124). Perhaps it would be impossible to find distinct earlier authority for either word. Nevertheless, the development was inevitable when the importance of unity in worship as a support to unity of faith was recognised, and when it was firmly

[33] Cypr. *Ep.* 59, 14: 'Cum statutum sit ab omnibus nobis, et aequum sit pariter ac iustum, ut uniuscuiusque causa illic audiatur ubi est crimen admissum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta quam regat unusquisque et gubernet rationem sui actus Domino redditurus, oportet utique eos quibus praesumus non circumcursare' etc.

[34] The passages of Ignatius, *Eph.* 5, *Trall.* 7, *Philad.* 4, *Magnes.* 7, are explained by Bishop Lightfoot in another manner.

St. Irenaeus (*Haer.* iv. 34), 'Nos quoque offerre vult munus frequenter ad altare,' is, like the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews xiii. 10, speaking of the altar in heaven. The transition from one to the other is natural. Tertullian had exactly the kind of mind to make it. Other passages are *Ad Uxorem*, i. 7, and *Exhort. Cast.* 10.

established that the local ministry, centring in the Bishop, had the control of worship instead of the itinerant ministry of 'Apostles' and 'Prophets.'[35]

I have thought it well to summarise, to the best of my ability, the facts which illustrate the slow development of the monarchical episcopacy in the great Western see, because, though they are not new, I am not aware that they have been hitherto so simply grouped together. They throw light on the parallel development in the closely allied see of Alexandria—a development which has been more often discussed, but frequently without recollection of the intimate relation which existed between the two cities. I have no reason to question the fact asserted by tradition, that the Church of Alexandria was founded or organised by Mark the interpreter of St. Peter, himself probably the John Mark of the Acts of the Apostles, in whose mother's house at Jerusalem the Church used to assemble, and who, as cousin of St. Barnabas, accompanied St. Paul on his first missionary journey. In any case this tradition is a symbol of the close union, in point of Church order and rites, which existed between the two great cities, which at certain seasons of the year were in communication by sea several times a day.

We have unfortunately no information as to the

[35] The first direct use of ἀρχιερεῖς of a Christian ministry is in the *Didachè*, 13, where it is applied to the Prophets; see also below, p. 145, n. 2. St. Clem. *Cor.* 40–42, compares the Apostles, the 'Bishops' and the Deacons, to the High-priest, the priesthood and the Levites; and Justin, *Dial.* 116, says of the whole congregation, *οὐ δέχεται δὲ παρ' οὐδενὸς θυσίας ὁ θεὸς, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων αὐτοῦ.*

organisation of the Church of Alexandria in writers before the end of the second century. St. Clement, about A.D. 200, makes it clear that his natural view of the ministry was that it consisted of two orders. His ruling thought is that of the Presbytery as an earthly counterpart to the heavenly ministry of the 24 Elders of the Apocalypse.[36] In the time of Origen, however (c. 185–253), the difference between the orders of Bishops and Presbyters was *de facto* established, whatever the method of ordination may have been.

We are therefore not unprepared for the statement of St. Jerome: 'At Alexandria from Mark the Evangelist down to the time of the Bishops Heraclas (A.D. 233–249) and Dionysius (A.D. 249–265) the

[36] See Harnack, *H. of Dogma*, E. T. ii. 71 n., and Lightfoot, *l.c.* p. 224. In only two passages do all three titles occur together as presumably distinct, and only in one of them in the order of their present seniority (*Strom.* vi. 13, § 107). But at the close of the section, a few lines later, Clement shows that he has in view only two orders, the Diaconate and the Presbyterate (πρεσβυτέριον). In another place he refers to Scripture precepts addressed 'some to Presbyters, some to Bishops, some to Deacons, and some to Widows' (*Paed.* iii. 12, § 97)—a sentence which is against the idea that he considered the titles to be fixed in order of rank. Elsewhere he either identifies the two titles—as in the beautiful story of St. John and the young robber (at the end of *Quis Dives salvetur*), or omits that of Bishops, and reckons the clergy as consisting of Presbyters and Deacons (*Strom.* iii. 12, § 90, vi. 13, § 106, just before the passage first quoted, and vii. 1, § 3). In two of these passages he is talking of the ideal Church, as in the Apocalypse, and of the true Gnostic as partly discharging, and partly predestined to discharge, angelic ministry. On Origen's evidence see Gore in *J. of Th. S.* iii. pp. 280–1, 1902. It does not bear directly on the method of ordination of Bishops, but proves that he recognised their superiority.

Presbyters always nominated as Bishop one chosen out of their own body and placed in a higher grade, just as if an army were to appoint a general or Deacons were to choose from their own body one whom they knew to be diligent and call him Archdeacon' (Epist. 146, *ad Evangelum*). This statement of Jerome not only implies that the choice of a Bishop at Alexandria lay with the Presbyters, and not with the people,[37] and that it was limited to their own body, but, as Morinus argues, that no further ordination was needed any more than when a Deacon became Archdeacon. Morinus indeed goes so far as to endorse the judgment of Hilary the Deacon (1 Tim. iii. 8), 'Episcopi et Presbyteri una ordinatio est,' and to declare that it is the general opinion of the Latin Fathers (*De Sacr. Ord.* iii. p. 30 sq.). We have seen the confirmation of this statement from the Roman Church Order, and, doubtful as it may be as a statement of general application, I believe that Morinus is right as regards Rome and Alexandria up to the beginning or middle of the third century. An apophthegm of the monk Poemen and a recently discovered letter of Severus of Antioch (A.D. 512-9) go some way to support the statements made by the

[37] This may have been due to the turbulent character of the people, as Mr. Haddan suggests, *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, *s.v.* Bishop, p. 214 *b*. Origen, *Hom. in Lev.* vi. 3, refers to the presence of the people as a requisite in the ordination of a 'Priest' (*i.e.* Bishop) and speaks of their testimony to him; in *Hom. in Num.* xxii. 4 he seems to imply that a name might be proposed by the people; but his experience after A.D. 231 was Palestinian, not Egyptian. Jerome's word 'nominabant' does not of course imply absolute election by the Presbyters, but rather suggests subsequent approval by the people. Such approval would, however, tend to be formal.

late and untrustworthy Eutychius.[38] There is also a strange story told by Liberatus of the hand of the dead Bishop being laid on his successor's head.[39] In any case Jerome's evidence shows that up to the middle of the third century the Bishop of Alexandria was more closely bound to the College of his City-presbyters than anywhere else except at Rome, and that, in both cases, the Presbyterate had something of the character of an episcopal College.

It so happens that, while we know little of the very early history of Alexandria, we know more of its inner history in the third and fourth centuries than of most other Christian cities. It affords perhaps the earliest known instance of the parochial system with Rectors and assistant priests, who were more independent of the Bishop than the Roman Presbyters with their *tituli*. Epiphanius, the friend and contemporary of St. Jerome, knew Egypt well and was, I imagine, Jerome's authority for the statement above recorded. He tells us under the head of *Arianism* (*Haer.* 69, 2) the names of ten churches in the city and adds that there were several more. All these were subject to one Archbishop, but each had its own resident Presbyter, who administered the church and looked after the

[38] For Poemen and Severus see Dr. E. W. Brooks in *J. of Th. Studies*, ii. 612 (1901). Eutychius in his *Annales*, i. p. 331 (A.D. 933-940), says that the ordinance was made by St. Mark, and that the twelve Presbyters chose one of their number on whom the others laid their hands and created him Patriarch, filling up the vacant place at the same time; and that this went on to the time of Alexander, who was at the Council of Nicaea.

[39] Liberati Diaconi *Breviarium*, 20: Migne, *P. L.* 68, 1036.

neighbourhood (*ib.* 1), and had other (subordinate) Presbyters ministering with him (*ib.* 2). Of these city Rectors one was Arius and another Colluthus, both in the time of Alexander, *i.e.* the first quarter of the fourth century. From this account we can easily infer that the Presbyters of Alexandria, even more than other City-presbyters elsewhere, were an eminent and powerful body.

But the natural growth of the Church in Egypt had established a number of quasi-independent centres outside the chief city. We read, for instance, of twenty Bishops assembling at Alexandria in A.D. 243. It was inevitable that they either would seek to be entirely independent of the mother city, or would insist on having some share in setting up the Archbishop or Patriarch when a vacancy occurred, and not leave it all to the oligarchy of the primitive College. The Council first referred to took place in the Episcopate of Heraclas, in whose time Jerome seems to date the beginning of the change.

There was therefore all the material for a considerable struggle, and such took place in regard to doctrine in the case of Arius, and in regard to discipline in that of Colluthus. The latter is well known in Church history as the man in whose person the 'leading case,' so to call it, respecting the validity of Presbyteral ordination was decided in the year before the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 324. Colluthus was a strong opponent of Arius, but he was accused by his Bishop, Alexander, of ambition for rule (*φιλαρχία*) and selling Christ (*Χριστεμπόρεια*)—by which latter term taking money

for admission to holy orders may perhaps be implied.[40] As Alexander describes a state of things existing before A.D. 319 (in which the heresy of Arius developed), Colluthus must have had a schismatical career of several years before he was condemned by the Council, which held that Ischyras and others ordained by him were to be accounted laymen.[41] If we may fairly give at least so much credence to Eutychius as to suppose that Alexander had in some degree abridged the rights of his City-presbyters and enlarged those of his comprovincial Bishops, and if Colluthus claimed, as is probable, to exercise in his own Church some of the episcopal rights implied by Jerome, we can easily understand the grounds of his schismatical action and the difficulty of suppressing it. Yet, as Colluthus evidently acted alone, Alexander as evidently had a good case against him, even allowing the utmost latitude to the collegiate privileges of the Alexandrian Presbyterate.

This reflection naturally brings us to the remarkable thirteenth canon of Ancyra, A.D. 314, which seems to recognise a certain power of ordination in City-presbyters, which it brings into line with Episcopal supremacy, without actually abolishing it, by requiring a written licence from the Bishop before its exercise. In the form to which all internal

[40] See his letter to Alexander of Constantinople: Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 4, p. 9. The word is derived originally from the *Didaché*, 12, 5.

[41] See Athanasius, *Apol. c. Arian.* 12, 75–79, 80. He speaks of him in c. 75 as *τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου φαντασθέντος ἐπισκοπήν.*

evidence bears witness this canon runs as follows :[42] 'Country-bishops (*χωρεπίσκοποι*) are not permitted to ordain Presbyters or Deacons, nor even is it permitted to City-presbyters to do so, except with the licence (or commission) in writing of the Bishop in each Diocese.' The canon, so interpreted, gives excellent sense, and in no way conflicts with the case of Colluthus, who, as we have seen, was acting alone and without any licence from Alexander. It also preserves the position of City-presbyters as superior to Country-bishops which is recognised by the almost contemporary Council of Neo-Caesarea. These Country-bishops had, it seems, the same episcopal

[42] The Greek reading here followed has the support of the Latin versions. The Greek variants as accepted by Mr. Rackham in his elaborate edition of the Canons of Ancyra, *Studia Biblica* (Oxford iii. 149), are given in brackets: *Χωρεπισκόποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴν μήδε πρεσβυτέροις* [*-ους*] *πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἑκάστῃ* [*ἑτέρᾳ*] *παροικίᾳ.* His interpretation, divested of certain intricacies, is as follows: 'Country-bishops may not ordain in another Diocese without the written permission of the Bishop of that Diocese, nor must they even ordain City-presbyters in the Diocese to which they belong.' But there are two strong objections to this view. It would imply (1) that City-bishops might ordain in another diocese without permission; (2) it puts City-presbyters below Country-bishops. It is also very involved. The 13th and 14th canons of Neo-Caesarea, on the Lycus, passed a few years later at a Council attended (it would seem) by several of the Ancyran Bishops, should be consulted. They imply that Country-bishops are inferior in dignity to City-presbyters, but may be admitted, as an act of grace, to minister at the central altar with the Bishop and his clergy. The 10th canon of Antioch, generally dated A.D. 341, restricts Country-bishops in regard to ordination much as Ancyra does, but it omits all mention of City-presbyters. The case of Colluthus had probably led to the collapse of such claims on their part.

ordination as other Bishops, or at least might be presumed to have it,[43] but they were ordained to a small country cure and had no authority even in that to ordain to higher offices without the permission of the City-bishop. They were thus somewhat in the position of our modern English 'suffragans,' supposing them to be restricted to a small part of a Diocese. The City-presbyters at Rome and Alexandria, and very probably elsewhere, were members of an Episcopal College, acting usually through their President in the matter of ordination, but in Phrygia still retaining a memory of their old dignity. It was a natural step in orderliness to require that this right should only be exercised with the Bishop's leave in writing. It shortly afterwards passed away altogether.

It must be remarked that the evidence for alleged Presbyterian ordinations of later date, as well as that of Felicissimus, who is supposed to have been ordained Deacon by Novatus in the time of Cyprian, disappears when the documents are closely examined.[44]

[43] See the 10th canon of Antioch, already referred to: εἰ καὶ χειροθεσίαν εἶεν ἐπισκόπων εἰληφότες.

[44] See Bingham, book ii. c. 3, § 7, and Gore's *Ministry*, note E, dealing with the cases quoted by Hatch, *Organisation*, p. 108 n. The case of Felicissimus is mentioned in Cypr. *Ep.* 52, 2, where compare 'diaconum constituit' with 'qui istic adversus ecclesiam diaconum fecerat illic episcopum fecit.' No one accused Novatus of *ordaining* a Bishop. The case of the man 'promoted' to the Presbyterate by the Abbot Paphnutius (Cassian, *Collat.* iv. 1) is not really a strong one.

A dispassionate study of the evidence leads us, then, to these conclusions: (1) that the three orders, as orders of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, existed from the time of the Apostles in certain parts of the Church, especially in Palestine, Syria and the Province of Asia; (2) that in some other parts, especially at Rome and Alexandria, there were at first only two orders, the governing order acting normally as a corporate body or College; (3) that in process of time, and more particularly in the course of the third century, this governing order tended more and more to act in the matter of ordination through its Presidents, although the right of the latter to act normally quite alone has never been regularly established except at Rome; (4) that in this way the governing order in the West has been differentiated into two degrees, though a tradition has always been kept up that they had an essential unity of character, now defined as 'Priesthood' or 'sacerdotium.' Not only has this tradition never been condemned by the Church, but it is probably a growing belief; and it has much to recommend it as a practical basis for that reunion between Episcopalians and Presbyterians which is one of the most obviously necessary tasks of English-speaking Christianity.

The general ancient tradition of the Church was likewise one of election of all officers by clergy and people. The subject is a large and important one and will be discussed in another place. Reference may be made here to the Report of the Canterbury Convocation Committee, no. 367, pp. 11 & 36, 1902.

II

BISHOPS, PRESBYTERS AND DEACONS.

CHURCH organisation is an accommodation of the Kingdom of God to the conditions of space. In becoming local it naturally loses something of its ideal character. For the clergy as well as the people of God are exposed to their own peculiar temptations. The Apostles themselves were with difficulty cured of their ambitions: and when their own tempers became more Christ-like they had to struggle against the same faults in others. St. Peter has to warn the Presbyters to whom he writes not to lord it over the charges allotted to them (1 Peter, v. 3); St. Paul spends much time in censuring the rivalry of the Corinthian schisms; and St. John has to rebuke 'Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence' (3 John, 9). The danger of arrogance on the part of the clergy, the danger of party spirit, the danger of personal ambition—these are felt in every age and country. However perfect the system may be, it has to be administered by fallible men.

Further, as system grows so grows the danger of being in love with system: of treating it as an end

in itself and of confusing the Church with the conditions of the life of the Church on earth. Lands and wealth and power ensure the continuance of the system, but they also imply a condition of compromise with the world. They have an advantage, but they have a disadvantage. On the whole, the advantage must rest with the certainty of continuance, but there is need of perpetual caution against confounding mere continuance with spiritual health and energy.

Bearing this caution in mind, let us try to gain a clear conception of the relation of the different orders of the Christian ministry to one another and to the community in the first half of the third century. This is an important period in the development of the ministry, for during the years A.D. 200–250 we may not only date the final establishment of the monarchical episcopate but also the extension of the minor orders and of the ministry of women, and the beginning of the Church Kalendar. It is the age of Hippolytus, Callistus, Fabian and Cornelius at Rome, of Tertullian and Cyprian in Africa, of Clement, Origen and Dionysius the Great at Alexandria, of Firmilian in Cappadocia, of Serapion and Fabius at Antioch, of Narcissus and Julius Africanus in Palestine.

The first point which appears clearly in our survey is that the Diocese, as we should call it—that is, the community of the faithful grouped in and round a city—is the unit of Church life, not the Province, on one side, or the village or portion of a city, on the other. This community has the title

Parochia, *παροικία*[1] or sojourning (*Syr.* tauthobutho), being, in fact, a shortened form of *ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ παροικοῦσα*, 'the Church which sojourns' in such and such a place. This word in its Latin form, 'parochia,' continues to mean a Diocese at least as late as the date of Bede, though the Greek word is used even for a country community as early as the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, canon 17.

These centres vary in number in a district according to the civil customs of the province. In some districts they are very numerous. In Asia Minor, for instance, there were some 400 Bishoprics; in Africa, 500. In South Italy to the present day almost every little town has a Bishopric. In North Italy they are comparatively few. But, whether they are few or many, all these Bishops are considered to be successors of the Apostles. This succession is no new idea, but one that comes to us from Clement of Rome in the first century ('Ad Cor.' 44, *διαδέξωνται*), through Hegesippus and Irenaeus (iii. 3) in the second, and Hippolytus (?) and Cyprian in the third ('Epp.' 45, 66 etc.[2]), to name only the most prominent authorities who speak of it. Its objects are the

[1] See Dr. William Bright's *Notes on the Canons of the first four General Councils*, pp. 51–53 (Oxf. 1882), on Nicaea 16—the best collection on the subject with which I am acquainted.

[2] *Ep.* 45: 'Hoc enim vel maxime, frater, et laboramus et laborare debemus, ut unitatem a Domino et per Apostolos nobis successoribus traditam quantum possumus obtiner curemus' etc.; and 66: 'praepositos qui Apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt.' Hippolytus (?), *Ref. Haer. Prooem.*: *ἀπόστολοι ὧν ἡμεῖς διάδοχοι τυγχάνοντες τῆς τε αὐτῆς χάριτος μετέχοντες ἀρχιερατείας καὶ διδασκαλείας.*

maintenance of internal order in the communities, and of truth and of general unity in the Church at large; and these three are the permanent objects for which we ought to maintain the succession.

Charismatic Ministry of Bishops.

We are accustomed to call it an Apostolic succession, and with justice: but we must remember that the Apostolic ministry of the first age of the Church included that of other officers who gradually gave place to the settled ministry with which we are familiar, and that it was to this older and broader ministry that our Bishops have succeeded. Bishops are, in other words, the main link between the charismatic ministry of the first age and the local ministry of the second and third centuries. The two special features of this first ministry were (1) that it was by divine appointment, not election by the people; (2) that it was general rather than local. The earliest Apostles were, of course, chosen by our Lord in visible person. Matthias was chosen by Him before the day of Pentecost by the sign of a lot cast after special invocation: 'Show of these two the one whom thou hast chosen' (Acts i. 24). After Pentecost the Holy Spirit, by the mouths of the Prophets, chose Paul and Barnabas as Apostles (xiii. 1, 2); and we must suppose that others were similarly appointed, such as the 'Apostles' in the broader sense referred to in St. Paul's Epistles (Rom. xvi. 7, 1 Cor. xv. 5, 7 etc.) and in the 'Didaché,' Hermas (*Sim.* ix. 15, 16, *Vis.* iii. 5 etc.), and elsewhere. Besides the Apostles

or missionary preachers in this broader sense, we have Prophets and Teachers more frequently (Acts xiii. 1; 1 Cor. xii. 28; 'Didaché,' 13. 1, 2, 15. 1, 2; Clem. 'Hom.' xi. 35), and sometimes Evangelists and Pastors joined with them (Eph. iv. 11, cp. Eus. 'H.E.' iii. 37). We find, for instance, Timothy so indicated by the voice of prophecy (1 Tim. i. 18, iv. 14) and receiving imposition of hands from the Apostle Paul (2 Tim. i. 6) together with that of the Presbytery (1 Tim. iv. 14, *μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου*), just as Paul and Barnabas received laying on of hands from the Prophets and Teachers of Antioch. Timothy appears to have borne the title of an Evangelist (2 Tim. iv. 5), a name also given to Philip the Deacon (Acts xxi. 8) and by Eusebius ('H.E.' iii. 37) to the first missionaries after the times of the Apostles, to whom he specially ascribes the office of 'appointing others as shepherds of the flocks.' Of 'Prophets and Teachers' we know a good deal in a fragmentary way; and as specimens of their work we may mention the Parables and Visions of the Roman Prophet Hermas, and the sermon falsely ascribed to Clement of Rome (under the title of the second Epistle to the Corinthians), which is evidently a homily composed by some Teacher of the second century, read during divine service. It is interesting as implying that the Scriptures had just been read (ch. 19, 'after the God of truth has been heard') and the Presbyters had given their admonitions (ch. 17); then followed this reading, no doubt by the Reader of the Church, of an exhortation composed by some

Christian Διδάσκαλος, probably at a distance. The office of the Apologists, such as Justin and Tatian,[3] was also apparently that of 'Teachers' rather than Prophets or Presbyters.

It is not to our purpose to go minutely into the evidence for the existence of this charismatic and general ministry, belonging, not to one Church, but to all Christendom, which has been well put together by Dr. Adolf Harnack, though I do not commit myself to all his conclusions.[4] It certainly existed for a time side by side with the settled ministry, and it performed a very useful and important function. It was the great instrument for propagating unity in the Church—unity of teaching, unity of feeling, and unity of custom, including forms of worship. Whether as the bearers of letters from one Church to another, or as living letters read of all men, these Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers kept the life-blood of the Church in circulation, and counteracted the natural tendency of ancient civil society to too great independence and isolation. It is to them that we owe the fact that there is one Bible everywhere received in the Church, one Creed, one weekly holy day, one Baptism, and one Eucharist.

But, as St. Paul reminds us, this gift of the charismatic ministry was 'for (πρός) the perfecting *or* preparation of the saints, unto (εἰς) a work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ'

[3] Cp. Irenaeus, *Haer.* i. 28, 1, where he speaks of Tatian as Justin's scholar, and after his death fancying himself a διδάσκαλος.

[4] In his edition of the *Didachè*, 'T. und U.' ii. 1 (1884), pp. 93–137.

(Eph. iv. 12). It was a transitory gift, destined to pass away when the body of the saints or faithful Christians was sufficiently prepared and instructed to take its proper place. The passing away of the charismatic ministry is part of the divine order, seen in the history of Israel as well as in that of Christendom, which tends generally to the substitution of the ordinary and continuous for the miraculous and extraordinary powers of the Kingdom of God. When the Christian body is sufficiently penetrated by the Holy Spirit to choose its own officers and representatives, and when the sense of duty towards the confederation of Christian Churches has become a settled habit, then the charismatic ministry gradually passes away. But it remains in the background as a possibility, which may emerge at any time into activity; and indeed in various forms it is constantly emerging. And, in particular, the Episcopate has always preserved a recollection of its connection with the old broad Apostolic ministry, a connection markedly asserted in the cases of St. Polycarp, St. Irenaeus and St. Cyprian. Of St. Polycarp the letter written by his own people after his martyrdom thus speaks (16, 2): 'In the number of these [*i.e.* the elect] was this man, the glorious martyr Polycarp, who was found an apostolic and prophetic teacher in our own time, a Bishop of the holy Church which is in Smyrna.' St. Irenaeus ('Haer.' iv. 26, 2) ascribes to those elders who have episcopal succession from the Apostles the 'charisma veritatis'; and it is in connection with this belief that we must consider the special claim for Bishops

to declare the faith in Councils to have its justification. St. Cyprian considers Bishops to be specially vicars or representatives of Christ ('Ep.' 55, 63) and to have the right to expect special inspiration.

Without pressing these claims unduly, or making them individual or attached to a particular see, we cannot doubt that they represent a true function of the Episcopal order, to be the depositaries of a reserve of power on which the Church may rely in times of difficulty and danger, wherever new departures have to be made or new enemies resisted, and whenever a return to first principles has to be attempted.

Equal Authority of Bishops

This is one of the reasons for thankfully adhering to the ancient claim of Apostolic succession on behalf of our Bishops. Another is of a somewhat negative character. The Apostles are historically always a body, members of a College, and though each one is free to act as occasion demands, none of them has a personal prerogative to leave either to a line of successors or to the occupant of a particular see. So it is with regard to Bishops. The epigram of Jerome that a Bishop's office is the same 'whether at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Tanis' ('Ep.' 146, *ad Evangelum*), and the teaching of St. Augustine that the Christian Society 'is propagated and diffused over the whole world by the sees of the Apostles and the succession of Bishops' ('Ep.' 232, 3, *ad Madaurenses*), imply that at the close of the fourth century

two of the great Doctors of the West knew nothing of a papal prerogative different in kind from the general power of a Bishop, or of reverence due to one Apostolic see the occupant of which had a primacy, involving a certain supremacy, over the whole Church. The fancy that there is such a prerogative was fostered by the unchristian devotion to relics, which imagined St. Peter, or St. Peter and St. Paul, as dwelling in person at the imperial city, and receiving and rewarding the homage of pilgrims to it. This claim is the most fatal declension from the ideal of Christian polity of which the Western part of the Church has been guilty. It has separated East and West, and it has split Western Christendom into rival camps, and inside the Roman communion it has fostered a spirit of unreality and pretence which has left the central power incapable of ruling over the minds even of its own more enlightened children.

The position of a Bishop in the third century, of which we are now speaking, was a high one, but in theory at any rate it was still that of fellowship with his Presbyters as well as his episcopal colleagues. He was, as St. Peter calls himself, a fellow-Presbyter (*συμπρεσβύτερος*) while he sat as President (*προστάτης*, *προϊστάμενος*, *ἡγούμενος*, praepositus, praeses) of their College. The Deacons were his attendants and deputies: inside the Church in making public announcements, keeping order and the like; outside it, especially in secular matters and the relief of the poor. Their subordination was shown by their standing during the public assemblies while the Bishops and Presbyters sat.

The number of Deacons in a city varied very much. In an important place it would usually be seven, according to the type of the Church of Jerusalem described in the Acts. At Rome it was seven in the time of Cornelius (A.D. 251) and this remained the usage for a considerable period. The same rule meets us in Asia Minor and in Syria.[5] In Alexandria there were more, since as many as nine Deacons took the side of Arius. In Constantinople the number rose to 100 in the sixth and to 150 in the seventh century.

On the other hand, small places would have only one, two or three. The 'Apostolic Church Order,' c. 20, seems to make them three,[6] quoting the text 'at the mouth of three shall every word of the Lord be established' (2 Cor. xiii. 1). Further, in the period of which we are speaking no church service would have been complete without its Deacon or Deacons. The earliest rule for a Deacon's age that we know fixes it at 25 years (Conc. Carth. III., A.D. 397, c. 4).

The number of Presbyters also varied considerably; but at least two were required to make a quorum at

[5] See Cornelius's letter to Fabius of Antioch, Eus. *H. E.* vi. 43; cp. Hieron. *Ep.* 146, who says that the number was small in comparison with that of the Presbyters. In 315 the Council of Neo-Caesarea, canon 15, decreed that 'there ought to be seven Deacons in a city, according to the canon, even though it be a very large one,' and then refers to Acts vi. 3. Prudentius speaks of seven Deacons, *Peristeph.* ii. 18, v. 157. The *Testament of our Lord*, i. 34, edited in Syria *circa* A.D. 400, speaks of 12 Presbyters, 7 Deacons, 4 (14 MS.) Subdeacons, and 3 (13 MS.) Widows with precedence. In another place (i. 26), describing a service, it mentions 3 Deacons and 3 Presbyters, with little singing boys and 2 ascetics.

[6] Three are mentioned in the Church of Cirta (*P. L.* 8, 731).

the Episcopal council and therefore at a service. The 'Apostolic Church Order' (17, 18) suggests three[7] rather than two because of the 24 mentioned in the Apocalypse, that being presumably the whole number in a city. This was a scriptural precedent like 7 for the Deacons, but I do not find any actual instance of it.[8] Hilary the Deacon simply says, 'There ought to be 7 Deacons and a good many (*aliquantos*) Presbyters, that there may be two in each church, and one Bishop in the city' (on 1 Tim. iii. 12, 13). The two in each church would of course be those present at services in the subordinate churches into which the congregations of a city would be divided. The Church of Rome in A.D. 251 appears to have had 36 Presbyters.[9] The Church of Alexandria had 12, and apparently Antioch and other Syrian Churches had the same number.[10]

The age for Presbyters was fixed at 30 by the Council of Neo-Caesarea, A.D. 314, c. 11, with reference to our Lord's ministry.

[7] Four are mentioned at Cirta (not, as Duchesne says, by a slip, three: *Orig.* p. 333 n.). Four Subdeacons and six Readers are named.

[8] Cp. Clement Alex. *Strom.* iii. 12, § 90, and vii. 1, § 3. The 70 elders of the age of Moses are referred to in the ordination prayers of the Church of Rome, and (without the number) in the *Ethiopic Statutes*, 22, and the *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 15.

[9] This seems the right reading, as accepted by Heinichen, in Cornelius's letter in Eus. *H. E.* vi. 43, not, as many authors have it, 46. I am the more inclined to this as 36 is about half of 70, the number of the Mosaic 'elders,' to whom the old Roman prayers refer as the type of the Christian presbyterate: *v. s.* p. 53-4, n. 20; just as 12 (see next note) is half of the 24 elders of the Apocalypse.

[10] The number 12 is mentioned for Alexandria by Eutychius, but is not wholly to be discredited on that account. It is just hal of the 24 insisted upon by Clement. Ignatius several times compares the Presbyters to the Apostles, *Ad Magn.* 6, *Trall.* 3, *Smyrn.* 8,

The Bishop and his Presbyters formed a Council, called in Latin 'ordo,' after the precedent of the municipal councils of the cities; and to take part in this Council was perhaps the one most essential duty of a Presbyter. The Bishop sat in the centre at the end of the church, on the elevated step or Bema, with his Presbyters on either hand. His seat was the Throne, Cathedra or Sedes (from whence our word 'see' of course is taken). The seats of the Presbyters might simply be benches (*subsellia*) or a stone slab running round the apse. This Bishop's seat was somewhat raised above the others and had arms to it. Such seats still remain in many ancient churches on the Continent, as at S. Ambrogio in Milan and S. Gregorio at Rome; and hardly less interesting examples may be found in our own country, as at Canterbury and Hexham, and the later but very remarkable Bishop's seat, behind and on a higher level than the altar, at Norwich.

Duties of Presbyters

But though the Bishop's throne was more distinguished he was placed in it as one of a body. This is clearly noticeable in the letters of St. Ignatius and the fact is rightly recognised as a mark of their antiquity by Bishop Pearson.[11] The Presbyters are regarded by Ignatius as a parallel to the Council of

cp. *Philad.* 5. This, together with *Ap. Const.* ii. 26, makes the number probable for Antioch. It is expressly given in the *Testament of our Lord*, i. 34: see above, note 5.

[11] Pearson, *Vind. Ignat.* part 2, ch. 1 and 16 at end. Cp. the passages referred to above, note 10.

the Apostles, and are constantly named together with the Bishop as the centre of unity. The Deacons are frequently joined to them, particularly in their capacity as 'ministers of Christ': that is, I presume, as having specially the duty of administering the Eucharist and as carrying relief to the poor.

Some further light is thrown on the position of Presbyters in the early part of the second century by the Epistle of 'Polycarp and the Presbyters that are with him' to the Philippians, in which they say (ch. 6): 'The Presbyters also must be compassionate, merciful towards all men, turning back the sheep that are gone astray [Ezek. xxxiv. 4], visiting all the infirm, not neglecting a widow or an orphan or a poor man; but providing always for that which is honourable in the sight of God and of men [2 Cor. viii. 21], abstaining from all anger, respect of persons, unrighteous judgment, being far from all love of money, not given to believe anything against any man, not hasty in judgment, knowing that we all are debtors of sin.' They then refer to the universal judgment (Rom. xiv. 10, 12), and to the necessity of abstaining from 'false brethren that bear the name of the Lord in hypocrisy.'

Here the emphasis is especially on the judicial and disciplinary powers of the Presbyterate, but reference is also made to their duty of visiting the sick and of acting as pastors of the flock. Indeed, it is a constant characteristic of Christian discipline that it is 'pro salute animae,' and therefore Presbyters must always have had the duty of counselling or admonishing those whom they were judging, and of

trying to bring them to a better mind, and of warning the whole Church by the example of the falls and mistakes of others. This kind of admonition would naturally have been in use before dogmatic preaching was intrusted to them, and to this we see a passing reference in the ancient homily called the second Epistle of Clement, where the congregation is instructed 'Let us not think to give heed and believe now only while we are admonished by the Presbyters,' and again the wicked are represented as confessing at the last judgment 'We obeyed not the Presbyters when they told us of our salvation' (ch. 17). The homily itself is the work of one who was accounted a specially gifted διδάσκαλος or Teacher.

Besides this characteristic work of discipline the Presbyters took regular part with the Bishop in 'offering the gifts'—a duty named as early as the Epistle of Clement (*circa* A.D. 95: ch. 44) and implied in the 'Didaché,' c. 15. They stood with him round the holy table and took his place if he were absent. They were his assistants in other offices, as at Baptism and Confirmation, and in many and indeed most parts of the Church took his place in these rites if he were away. It was a peculiarity of the Church of Milan that no baptisms were administered in the absence of the Bishop. It was a specially Roman tradition, gradually extended to the whole Western Church, that episcopal laying on of hands, and 'sealing' or crossing the forehead with chrism, was the proper rite of Confirmation. But it was a general principle that neither Eucharist nor Baptism, including Confirmation, must

be administered apart from the Bishop or without his will. This important principle of unity is enunciated by St. Ignatius in a famous passage of his letter to the Smyrneans, c. 8: 'Let no one do anything apart from the Bishop of the things that pertain to the Church. Let that be considered a valid Eucharist which is under the Bishop (ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον) or some one to whom he gives permission [to celebrate it]. Wherever the Bishop appears, there let the people (πλῆθος) be, just as wherever Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church. It is not permitted apart from the Bishop either to baptise or to make a love-feast: but whatever he may approve, that also is well-pleasing to God—so that whatever is done by you may be safe and valid.' This passage is not only important as exhibiting the prerogatives of a Bishop, but as recognising the right of delegated or licensed ministration on the part of Presbyters. It is in fact the first germ of the parochial system.

I shall hope to be able to sketch the growth of this system at some future time, but our concern at present is with a period when it had not gone very far. Theoretically, the congregation travelled from church to church with the Bishop and clergy, as it did for a considerable period both at Jerusalem and at Rome. The practice of concelebration is preserved to this day at the ordination of priests in the Roman Pontifical, and its absence from our own service is a point to be regretted. Its cessation has allowed too deep a line to be drawn between a Bishop and his

Presbyters, and has led to an independence on both sides which is dangerous and sometimes all but fatal. At any rate, wherever a Bishop is present—especially in our Cathedral churches—as many clergy as possible should be with him, and that on both sides of the holy table; and he should usually take the celebrant's part.

Duties of Deacons and Archdeacons.

The position of the Deacons both in the Liturgy and in other duties of the Church was hardly less marked than that of the Presbyters. In the church indeed, as we have said, they stood and did not sit. That was a mark of Episcopal and Presbyteral dignity. But the Deacons' voices were constantly heard during the progress of the service making proclamations for the Bishop at various points and turns, and reciting Litanies before his prayers, or at a later date (when a veil or screen separated the sanctuary) during them. The following from the 'Testament of our Lord,' i. 35, is a striking example of such a proclamation just before the anaphora—a sort of 'fencing of the Table' as the Scotch call it: 'Let us arise: let each know his own place. Let the catechumens depart. See that no unclean, no careless person is here. Lift up the eyes of your hearts. Angels look upon us. See: let him who is without faith depart. Let us supplicate with a united mind. Let no adulterer, no angry man be here. If anyone be a slave of sin, let him depart. See: let us supplicate as children of the light. Let us supplicate our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ.' In the actual service of the

Sanctuary the Deacons brought the gifts and offerings of the people—which were obviously in most cases more than sufficient for the actual communion, and included various things besides bread and wine, such as oil and water for the sick, and fruits of the earth—and read out the names of the offerers, and the names of those in whose memory they were sometimes offered. After they had been blessed the Deacons distributed them, or, when they were offerings for the use of the clergy and others, placed them in the treasury of the church. A question arose from time to time whether they might give communion to Presbyters, and in the fourth century we notice a tendency to limit their rights as well as to subdivide their duties among the minor orders; but in the Church of Rome the Archdeacon, for a long period, administered the Eucharistic cup even to the Pope.[12]

The Eucharistic cup was in fact so much the special concern of the chief Deacon or Archdeacon that he may be even said to have 'consecrated' it. This is the word actually used by St. Ambrose of St. Laurence, the martyred Deacon of Pope Sixtus II. A.D. 257–8 ('De Off. Min.' i. 41, § 214). This remarkable expression probably refers to the action of the Roman Deacon, as deputy of the Pope, in

[12] See *Ordo Romanus*, i. 19: 'Qui dum communicaverit, de ipsa Sancta quam momorderit ponit in [*vel* inter] manus archidiaconi, dicendo in calice: *Fiat commistio et consecratio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi accipientibus nobis in vitam aeternam. Amen. Pax tecum. Et cum spiritu tuo*, et confirmatur ab archidiacono.' 'Confirmare' is a technical term for ministering the chalice. The people received through a 'pugillaris' or 'fistula.' On the tendency to restrain the aspirations of Deacons see below, note 24.

placing a piece of the sacramental bread, reserved from the last communion and called the *Sancta*, into the chalice before the latter was used for the communion. The 'Ordo Romanus,' which mentions this, describes the Archdeacon as making the sign of the cross three times over the chalice.[13] This sign is an act of consecration, as well as the intinction which even in the present Roman Missal is called 'commixtio et consecratio.' It is also probable that the 'fermentum' sent from the central church by the hands first of the Deacons and then of the Acolytes to the Presbyters officiating at the 'tituli' was used for consecrating the chalice.[14]

It was also the Archdeacon's duty in the same service to pour from the chalice from which the clergy had communicated into the larger vessel used for the communion of the people.[15] Whether the

[13] *Ord. Rom.* i. 18: 'Finito vero Canone subdiaconus regionarius stat cum patena post archidiaconum; quando dixerit *et ab omni perturbatione securi* vertit se archidiaconus et osculata patena dat eam tenendam diacono secundo. Cum dixerit *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum* faciens crucem tribus vicibus manu sua super calicem mittit Sancta in eum.' See also previous note.

[14] This custom is described in a letter ascribed to Pope Innocent I. (A.D. 403) *ad Decentium*: 'De fermento quod die dominico per titulos mittimus superflue nos consulere voluisti, cum omnes ecclesiae intra civitatem sint constitutae, quorum presbyteri quia . . . nobiscum convenire non possunt . . . fermentum a nobis confectum per acolythos accipiunt.' Fermentum is a portion of the Eucharistic bread, so called, says Scudamore (*Dict. Chr. Ant.* s.v.) because it connected successive celebrations with each other in the same manner that leaven connected the dough of one baking with that of another. Cp. *Ord. Rom.* i. 22.

[15] *Ord. Rom.* i. 20: 'Deinde venit archidiaconus cum calice ad cornu altaris, et annuntiat stationem [*i.e.* the church where service

wine in the larger vessel had previously received consecration is not quite clear, but it would seem that it had not. In that case this infusion was the only consecration which the larger chalice received, and therefore that consecration also was, in a sense, the Archdeacon's act.[16] The object of all these rites was practically the same—the continuity and solidarity of the one Eucharist, each central celebration being connected with that which went before, and all congregations in the city being united in one communion with the centre.

Inside the church the Deacons acted as the eye and hand of the Bishop, as well as his voice. They had to watch the doors and observe the conduct of the people, discharging duties at first which were afterwards assigned to Subdeacons and Ostiarii or doorkeepers, as well as those of reproof and punishment.

Deacons, notwithstanding the precedent of St. Philip, were not usually allowed to baptise alone, but they had a special part in the service which consisted in going down into the water with the men, the women being assisted by Deaconesses. In case of necessity Deacons, and indeed laymen, might baptise. They might also under certain circumstances reconcile

was to be held during the following week], et refuso parum de calice in scyphum inter manus acolythi' etc. This follows immediately after the passage in note 12.

[16] Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 178, speaks of the wine in the 'scyphus' or larger 'calix ministerialis' as being already consecrated. Seidl in Kraus' *Encykl.* s.v. 'Kelch,' and Mr. A. Nesbitt in *Dict. Chr. Ant.* s.v. 'Chalice,' both suppose it to have been before unconsecrated. Pope Gregory II. (A.D. 731–5) disapproved of having more than one chalice at the same time on the altar. After his time, therefore, the second chalice must have been unconsecrated; and probably it was so before.

penitents, as delegates of the Bishops, whose duty this especially was.[17] Thus in time of persecution St. Cyprian gave leave to those who were penitent after lapse to make their confession before a Presbyter, 'or if a Presbyter cannot be found and death approaches, then even before a Deacon, that so receiving imposition of hands unto repentance they may go to the Lord with that peace which the Martyrs in their letters to me have requested for them' ('Ep.' 18).

Besides these clerical functions the secular duties of a Deacon were even more important. He was the almoner of the Church; it was his duty to report all cases of necessity or of wrong-doing confidentially to the Bishop. In process of time these duties became so weighty that an Archdeacon was appointed, chosen by the Bishop from the body of Deacons to be his constant assistant, and in fact the Treasurer of the Church. 'Archdeacons' do not appear in literature till towards the end of the fourth century[18]; but some time before that one of the Deacons had been specially the Bishop's officer, and, as at Rome, often his predestined successor.[19] The first notice of

[17] I have given some more details in *Considerations on Public Worship* etc., p. 52 foll. (1898). Laymen should be ready to receive deathbed confessions in the absence of a priest.

[18] St. Augustine calls St. Laurence Archdeacon (*Serm. de Diversis*, 111, 9), but Cornelius, writing to Fabius, does not mention an Archdeacon among the officers of his Church. The first contemporary use is that of St. Jerome, *Ad Rust. Ep.* 95, and *Ad Evangelum Ep.* 146, and *In Ezech.* 48. This is one reason for dating the compilation of the *Testament of our Lord* circa A.D. 400, where the 'chief Deacon' (ܪܒ ܫܡܫܐ) is twice mentioned, i. 19; cp. 34.

[19] See p. 129, note 27. Eulogius, ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 182, says this succession was a law at Rome; but this is an exaggeration. Athanasius, Deacon of Alexander, similarly succeeded at Alexandria.

Archdeacons chosen from among the Presbyters seems to be that occurring in the letters of Hincmar of Rheims, A.D. 874. The rise of their separate and permanent jurisdiction is obscure.

Customs as to Preaching.

Thus the Bishop's functions were shared both during the Liturgy and outside it both by his Presbyters and Deacons. But there was one duty in which for a time, at least in many places, he stood alone, and in respect to which he has always had a special superiority—this is the duty of preaching. The Council of Trent is surely accurate in its language when it says, twice over, that 'the preaching of the Gospel is the peculiar duty of Bishops.'[20]

This is one of the points in which the Episcopate has succeeded to the Apostolic ministry in the broader sense. In the first age evidently those who had the 'gift' of preaching exercised it freely. The gift was not so much recognised after the second century, during the last generation of which the aggressive claims of the Montanists and their putting women forward in this office, as other heretics also did, rendered a certain strictness necessary in the examination of assertions of charismatic powers. Nevertheless, in all ages there has been at least a tradition that laymen might preach with Episcopal permission, while it was the Bishop's special duty and privilege to preach in person. Origen, for instance,

[20] 'Praedicatio Evangelii praecipuum munus Episcoporum'; Sess. v. *De Ref.* c. 2, and Sess. xxiv. *De Ref.* c. 4.

was invited to preach at Caesarea in Palestine while he was still only a Catechist; and, when the Bishop of Alexandria remonstrated, Alexander of Jerusalem replied by quoting instances of similar invitations given by Bishops to laymen in various parts of Asia Minor: see Eus. 'H. E.' vi. 19. But the Bishop was the usual preacher. Justin in his description of the Liturgy ('Ap.' i. 67) names only the President as preaching, though he was himself a Teacher (Διδάσκαλος) and as such held meetings of his disciples over a Bath in Rome ('Mart. Just.' 2). Irenaeus ('Haer.' iii. 3) calls the Bishop's seat the 'place of teaching,' 'magisterii locus.' The Bishop preached, in fact, sitting in his chair, just as our Lord did in the Synagogue at Nazareth.[21]

The history of preaching by Presbyters is not easy to write, from the lack of continuous evidence. It would, as far as I can judge, seem to have been commoner in the first and second centuries than in the third, and in the fourth to have grown up in the East before it was generally accepted in the West. In the first century St. Paul evidently supposes that some Presbyters will 'labour in word and doctrine' (1 Tim. v. 17). The ancient homily once ascribed to Clement, which may be dated in the first half of the second century, implies that the Presbyters have been admonishing the people before it was read (ch. 17). I do not think that there is similar evidence for the third century. St. Cyprian's 'presbyteri

[21] St. Luke iv. 20: cp. Acts xviii. 11, Hermas, *Mand.* xi., *Ap. Const.* ii. 57, Aug. *De Cat. Rud.* 19, 'Antistites sedentes loquuntur ad populum.'

doctores,' who sat with him to examine candidates for orders, were probably not preachers ('Ep.' 29). On the other hand, we find evidence from Asia Minor early in the fourth century that preaching was there considered part of a Presbyter's regular functions.[22] Towards the latter part of that century it became more usual for Presbyters to preach in the East, even when a Bishop was present, and some of St. Chrysostom's most famous sermons were delivered under these conditions. In these cases the Presbyter spoke first and the Bishops followed, all, however, sitting.[23] In the West the custom progressed more slowly, and it was considered an innovation when Valerius of Hippo permitted Augustine to preach in his presence.[24]

Rome was strangely behindhand in regard to preaching, and produced no great Christian orators in any rank of the clergy. The only two Popes renowned for their preaching in the first six centuries were St. Leo (440–461) and St. Gregory (590–604). Most of the others, it is probable, did not preach at all.[25]

Preaching by Deacons is not much heard of in early centuries. The Arian Bishop of Antioch, Leontius, was censured for letting his Deacon Aëtius preach (Philostorgius, iii. 17). On the other

[22] See the first canon of Ancyra, A.D. 314, which mentions it as one of the things a lapsed Presbyter may not do.

[23] *Apost. Const.* ii. 57, and *Peregrinatio Silviae* quoted below, p. 323, and St. Chrys. *Hom.* 2 *in Verbis Esaiae.*

[24] See his *Life*, c. 5. Valerius defended it by Eastern examples.

[25] Sozomen, vii. 19, says that at Rome neither the Bishop nor anyone else was accustomed to preach in church. Kraus, *l.c.* 'Predigt,' p. 642. argues against the truth of this sweeping statement, but there was clearly a difference between Rome and other Churches.

hand the great preacher Ephrem Syrus, of Edessa, was a Deacon. But generally it was contrary to rule, and in the fourth century it appears to have been part of the general policy of checking the aspirations of Deacons to forbid them to preach.[26]

The Ministry of Ordination.

This also is clearly a most distinctive function of a Bishop. Yet even in this he could not properly act alone, except in the ordination of a Deacon according to the practice of our own day. The Deacon was the Bishop's special assistant or minister, and, as the old canons say, the Bishop alone lays his hands upon him because he is not ordained to the Presbyterate but to his own service.[27]

Among the medieval schoolmen it was held that Papal delegation could empower clergy to confer orders up to a certain point apart from Bishops. Their different theories may be seen in Hahn, 'Lehre v. d. Sakr.,' p. 206 foll. The most remarkable case in practice was probably the privilege given by Innocent VIII. in 1489 to the General and four principal Abbots of the Cistercians to ordain Deacons and Subdeacons for their own order. (Wetzer & Welte, iii. 377, Batiffol, 'Études,' p. 267.)

The usage of Presbyters joining with a Bishop in laying hands on other Presbyters is indeed by no means universal, but their presence and co-operation

[26] Hilary the Deacon, *In Ephes.*: 'Nunc neque diaconi in populo praedicant'; cp. Arles, 15 (against Deacons offering) and 18, Nice, 18 (against Deacons giving communion to Presbyters etc., or sitting in their midst: where see Dr. Bright's note) and Laodicea, 20.

[27] See *C. H.* p. 65, *Verona Fr.* p. 109, *T. D.* i. 38, *Gall. Stat.* 4.

in the prayers, together with the Deacons, seems general. This joint laying on of hands is found in most, though not all, of the forms of the old lost Church Order as well as in the 'Gallican Statutes,' and in the modern Roman Ordinal as well as our own.[28]

The co-operation of other Bishops in the consecration of a Bishop is expressly ordered by the fourth canon of Nicaea, which prescribes three as the general rule. It is, of course, well known that this rule of co-operation has not always been observed, though it is acknowledged in the West by Pope Innocent I. (A.D. 402–417) as well, of course, as in the East.[29] The Roman form of the lost Church Order, however, prescribed that 'one of the Presbyters and Bishops' should be chosen to lay hands on the Bishop elect on behalf of all, and the modern Roman custom, when the Pope officiates, is for him to act alone. But in the face of the declaration of Pope Innocent it is difficult to believe that this custom has been continuous.[30]

[28] It is not apparently in the *Canons of Hippolytus* (cp. ii. 10 with iv. 30); but in the other forms (*Egyptian Heptateuch*, 32; Ludolf, 22; Hauler, p. 108; *T. D.* i. 30) and the *Gallican Statutes*, 3. In the Roman Ordinal, which in many things is a composite production, there is a laying on of hands by the Bishop alone, and another by the Bishop with the Presbyters. The latter may have been introduced from Gallican sources, like many other Roman rites.

[29] *Ep.* ii. 2: 'Nec unus Episcopus ordinare praesumat episcopum, ne furtivum beneficium praestitum videatur.' The Council of Arles, canon 20, desired seven Bishops, but would be satisfied with three. The Apostolic Canon says: 'Let a Bishop be ordained by two or three Bishops.' There are, however, known old cases where ordination by one Bishop has been acknowledged: see instances in Bingham, ii. 11, § 5, and Dr. Bright's *Notes on Canons*, Nice 4, p. 11, Chalcedon 25, p. 187.

[30] Cp. Bingham, *l.c.* § 6, and Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 348. Duchesne cites the words of the canonist Ferrandus, who, quoting the

As regards the efficacy of the act of the assistant Bishops, Martene's energetic assertion of it is worth quoting: 'It may be asked whether all the Bishops who assist (*adsunt*) are co-operators or are merely witnesses of the consecration. But it must be affirmed, without the least hazard of doubt, that they are not only witnesses but also co-operators.'[31] It is important for us Anglicans to remember this, inasmuch as Bishop William Barlow, the principal consecrator of Archbishop Parker, was assisted by three Bishops, all of whom said aloud the words: 'Take the Holy Ghost' etc. The fact, therefore, that Barlow's consecration as Bishop was at one time impugned (long after his death, and on most inadequate grounds) becomes of minor importance, since the other three were amply sufficient to hand on a valid succession. In saying this I must not be understood to admit that there is any probability that Barlow himself was not validly consecrated.[32]

As regards the position of Presbyters who assist

words of the Roman Council of A.D. 385, 'Ut unus episcopus episcopum non ordinet,' adds 'excepta ecclesia Romana.' Bingham, following Cotelier's note to *Ap. Const.* iii. 20, considers these words to be a gloss. Ferrandus lived in the sixth century.

[31] *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. c. 8, art. 10, § 16.

[32] I may refer to a *Letter on the Succession of Bishops in the Church of England*, addressed to Abp. Heykamp (S.P.C.K. 1892), and *De Validitate Ordinum Anglicanorum Responsio ad Batavos* (Longmans etc. 1895). The first specially deals with the case of Parker and Barlow: the second with the requirements made by Roman Catholics as to form, matter and intention in conferring Holy Orders. The fullest discussion of Barlow's and Parker's cases is probably in A. W. Haddan's notes to the *third* volume of Bramhall's Works, in the *Anglo-Catholic Library* (1844). See also the *Responsio Archiepiscoporum Angliae* in reply to Leo XIII. in 1897.

in the ordination of other Presbyters, I feel great reluctance to acquiesce in the position that they are mere witnesses—although that is, I believe, the ordinary assumption. They represent the Presbyterate or 'Sacerdotium' receiving new members into its order, and, whether they actually touch the heads of the ordinands or not, their presence and prayers are an ordinary part of the mystery of ordination considered as a means of grace.

We have seen, then, that in the common offices in which Bishops and Presbyters were engaged Bishops had the presidency and direction; that in regard to preaching in the Liturgy it was their special prerogative; and that in ordination their presence and ministry was generally considered to be necessary, at any rate after the decision of the case of Colluthus in A.D. 324. It needs scarcely to be added that while Presbyters under accusation were accountable to Bishops, Bishops could only be judged by other Bishops.

The 'Ius Liturgicum.'

Another right of Bishops which was naturally derived from the foregoing was the *Ius Liturgicum* or right to compose or authorise prayers for public use. Recent research has added much to our store of early prayers before the composition of the Liturgies at present in use, and illustrates the freedom which existed in this matter. The recovery of several chapters towards the end of the Epistle of St. Clement gives us some long intercessory prayers, including a beautiful one for rulers, which are the

earliest that have come down to us outside the canonical Scriptures. The 'Didaché' has some shorter forms, the exact import and use of which, as regards the Eucharistic service, are not quite clear.[33] The different forms of the 'lost Church Order,' of which three have been edited in our own generation, are full of prayers which must have been in use in the third or fourth century, some of them probably at Rome, some certainly at Alexandria. Further a manuscript at Mount Athos has given us the service-book of the Church of Thmuis in the Delta, dating about A.D. 350 and probably compiled by Sarapion, the friend of Athanasius. Minute examination of the long-known 'Apostolic Constitutions' makes it probable that the Liturgy and other forms contained in the eighth book are those of the Church of Antioch; and the prayers of the 'Testament of our Lord,' based upon those of the lost Church Order, are probably those of some Church of Asia Minor, revised about A.D. 400 in Syria. The '106 canons of Basil' contain prayers of like date hitherto unknown to us, for Baptism and the ordination of a Bishop. In some cases (as in those of Clement and the prayer-book of Thmuis) complete independence is shown, in others, forms, once established, were enlarged and interpolated or amended rather than entirely rewritten. It is difficult to say which process shows the greater freedom, though it is freedom in each case of a different kind. It is not necessary to suppose that all such prayers were com-

[33] For these documents see above, *Introduction*, pp. 16 foll.

piled by Bishops. Gregory Nazianzen tells us of St. Basil that while he was still a Presbyter he did good service to the Church of Caesarea in Cappadocia by composing forms and directions for public worship, used, no doubt, with the consent and authority of the Bishop, Eusebius.[34]

Recent years have brought forward this right of Bishops among ourselves ; and it has been exercised by us with general though not perhaps universal approval, and has been welcomed in many quarters as meeting a practical want. We have revised existing forms outside the Prayer-book, especially those for the Consecration of churches and places of burial, the Reception of Converts, and Harvest Thanksgivings, and have issued others for the Institution and Induction of Clergy, the Commemoration of Founders and Benefactors, and the like, besides sanctioning many drawn up by others, whether individuals or societies, for use as additional services. In so doing we have made free use of one another's materials, generally without acknowledgment, and in this way a large body of additional services outside the Prayer-book is being submitted to the test of experience. It is to be hoped that in time, but not too soon or with any hurry, the most effective of these services will come into general use, and perhaps at last receive canonical authority.[35]

[34] *Oratio in laudem Basilii* (*Orat.* xliii. 34), *εὐχῶν διατάξεις καὶ εὐκοσμίας τοῦ βήματος.*

[35] The most important forms issued by myself for use in the Diocese of Salisbury have been : (1) one for the Consecration of Churches etc., with music, first used in its final form at the new church at

Issue of Confessions of Faith.

Closely akin to this right of drawing up forms of public prayer is that of putting out 'Confessions of Faith,' either in Council or in a less formal manner. The literature of this subject has also been much enlarged in the last few years, partly by the publication of new documents, partly by the collection and orderly arrangement of existing forms. Besides the careful work done among ourselves, I should like to recommend the fuller manual of the Breslau Professors Drs. August and G. Ludwig Hahn, which in its third edition [36] is nearly all that an ordinary student could desire. It is divided into five sections: (1) The Rule of Faith of the primitive Church; (2) The Baptismal Creed; (3) The Symbols of Œcumenical Councils; (4) The Symbols of particular Councils; (5) Private Confessions of Faith. The second section is the one which specially concerns the subject in hand, and it would be easy to show how

Bryanston, near Blandford, and at St. George's, Jerusalem (1898), published also, with an Essay, by S.P.C.K.; (2) for Blessing a Church before consecration (1896); (3) for the Institution and Induction of Clergy; (4) Commemoration of Founders and Benefactors in the Cathedral (1889); (5) Collects for Missions and Missionaries; (6) Easter Eve commemoration, &c. (Salisbury, Brown & Co.)

[36] *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche*, von Dr. A. H., dritte Auflage, von Dr. G. L. H., mit einem Anhang von Dr. Ad. Harnack (Breslau, 1897). This edition is much enlarged, and has a very fair index. The printing is not very correct. Harnack's Appendix is on the Roman Creed of the first two centuries. Caspari's laborious work should also be noticed. The reader will do well to consult Professor W. Sanday's article, *Recent Research on the Origin of the Creed*, in *J. of Th. Stud.* i. p. 3 foll., and A. E. Burn, *Introd. to the Creeds and the Te Deum*, Lond. 1899.

a Baptismal Creed answering to one of the two great types, Eastern or Western,[37] was altered in this or that Church, no doubt by the authority of the Bishop to meet this or that phase of controversy.

The Cyprianic Maxim.

The power of a Bishop being in this manner something like that of a constitutional monarch, in his own community, we must examine what is meant by the Cyprianic maxim, to which reference has already been made, 'Episcopatus unus est, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur,'[38] as regards his rights in other communities. The phrase, which is a legal one, reflecting the author's early training and occupations, may be rendered: 'The Episcopate is one, and all Bishops are full partners in it, with joint and several responsibility.' This maxim is a necessary condition of unity. For otherwise each Diocese might have a separate faith, discipline and worship. Usually of course this maxim will act by reminding each Bishop of his relation to the whole body as a stimulus to considerate and loyal self-restraint upon his own individual proclivities and upon those of his community, and as an incitement to take part in common action. But it may sometimes happen, in cases of emergency, that it will

[37] On these types see above, *Introduction*, p. 19.

[38] *De Unitate*, 5 *v.s.* p. 133. The phrase is thus illustrated by the jurists ap. Forcellini Lex.: 'Cum duo eandem pecuniam aut promiserunt aut stipulati sunt, ipso iure et singulis in solidum debetur et singuli debent,' and 'Ubi duo rei facti sunt, potest vel ab uno eorum solidum peti; hoc enim est duorum reorum ut unusquisque eorum in solidum sit obligatus.'

inspire him with courage to intervene in a neighbouring Diocese or community which needs admonition, as the Church of Rome under St. Clement did when the Church of Corinth was in schism, or when the faith is attacked or undermined. The latter is St. Cyprian's own illustration of the principle in writing to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, and urging him to procure the excommunication of Marcianus, Bishop of Arles, who had joined the schism of Novatian. Cyprian's action in this case is interesting as showing that he regarded Stephen as able, but possibly not willing, to intervene, and as requiring to be urged to do so by reference to a general maxim touching the duty of Bishops, not as possessing any special prerogative as Bishop of Rome. His words are (Ep. 68, 3, 4): 'For therefore, dearest brother, is the body of Bishops so large, united together by glue of mutual concord and the bond of unity, that if any of our college should attempt to introduce heresy and to rend and lay waste the flock of Christ, the rest may come in to aid, and, as helpful and merciful shepherds, gather the Lord's sheep into the fold. . . . For, although we are many shepherds, yet we feed one flock, and ought to gather together and cherish all the sheep which Christ has gained by His own Blood and Passion.' In a similar spirit St. Athanasius, as he returned from exile in Arian days, 'made no scruple' (as Bingham says, ii. 5, § 3) 'to ordain in several cities as he went along, though they were not in his own Diocese.[39] And the famous Eusebius of Samosata did the like in the times

[39] Socrates, *H. E.* ii. 24.

of the Arian persecution under Valens.[40] . . . Now, all this was contrary to the common rules; but the necessity of the Church required it; and that gave them authority in such a case to exert their power and act as Bishops of the whole Catholic Church.' A similar act of Epiphanius in ordaining Paulinianus (a brother of St. Jerome) first Deacon and then Presbyter in a monastery of Palestine had no justification of heretical pressure, but was merely defended by him on the grounds of expediency.[41] An earlier case, and one of much greater importance, which took place in the same country, the ordination of Origen as Presbyter at Caesarea, is not very clear. He was certainly deposed on his return to Alexandria, but this was apparently on another ground than that of his being ordained outside his own Diocese.[42]

The principle has been acted on more frequently in regard to minor episcopal duties, such as Confirmation. For instance, St. Anselm in travelling on the Continent seems to have confirmed freely any children

[40] Theodoret, *H. E.* iv. 13, and v. 4.

[41] Epiphanius, *Epist. ad Joann. Hierosol.* (interprete Hieronymo). He defends it on the grounds (1) that it was in a monastery, and a monastery of foreigners not under the jurisdiction of John of Jerusalem; (2) that John had often wished to catch Paulinian and ordain him, but had not been able to do so, and that he (Epiphanius) had compelled him by force, violently stopping his mouth etc.

[42] For Origen see Eus. *H. E.* vi. 23, and Hieron. *De Viris ill.* 54, 6, 2. According to the latter, Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, alleged against Demetrius of Alexandria his own letters in favour of Origen: 'quod iuxta testimonium Demetrii eum presbyterum constituerit.' This may mean only that Demetrius gave him a general commendatory letter, not necessarily that he spoke of him as worthy of the presbyterate or suggested his ordination.

brought to him. Where Bishops are few and Dioceses large this might be a reasonable course even now in our colonies and foreign stations. I have myself confirmed at Cairo, Nablus, Beyrut, and elsewhere, feeling assured of the goodwill of our Bishop in Jerusalem and the East, or of others with like jurisdiction.

The Cyprianic maxim, therefore, seems to me to justify a Bishop in venturing to act in other Dioceses than his own, in cases where he has reason to believe that the general approval of the Church will follow what he has done, not where he acts in an arbitrary and singular manner.

The duty of Bishops in the present divided state of the Church is not so easy to define as it might have been under other circumstances. As far as I can judge, where any of ourselves are asked to interfere (as our Bishops may be asked, by a body of reformed Christians on the Continent), a single Archbishop or Bishop should not intervene without previous consultation with the other Bishops of the Province to which he belongs, and without reasonable expectation that the whole communion will approve. It does not belong to my subject to inquire how far authority was actually given by the Synod or the Bishops of the Church of Ireland for the consecration of Bishop Cabrera, but I mention that as an illustration of the kind of difficult problem which may arise. If such authority were actually given by resolution of the Bishops of a Province it would make such an act, in my opinion, much more regular than if it were not given. If the authorisation were merely one of silent acqui-

escence or abstinence from overt disapproval, it would, without any manner of doubt, be more difficult to uphold what was done. Bishops surely ought to act together and to have the courage either to approve or to disapprove of each other's actions in difficult cases. They ought also to act as representing the conscience of the whole communion, not merely with reference to local sympathies.

I am therefore clearly of opinion that as regards the Old Catholics in Italy no consecration of a Bishop should take place without a definite resolution of the other Old Catholic Bishops, whose union forms a sort of provincial organisation. A recent consecration of a Bishop for that country by one Bishop of irregular antecedents, whose home is, I believe, in the United States, has placed the recipient of the office in a position of antagonism to Church order which must, in my opinion, prevent him from receiving sympathy and support from English Churchmen. We cannot, indeed, now treat the map of the world as if it were divided into Dioceses coloured red, blue and yellow, according to the extent of the jurisdiction of the Bishops who preside over different sees. The different Christian communions must in some degree overlap one another, and in some places (as at Jerusalem) there may, without offence, be several Bishops claiming the allegiance of the members of these communions and not of the whole Christian population. But where full inter-communion is unfortunately impossible, a certain comity and reasonableness of action are to be kept steadily in view.

III

THE MINOR ORDERS: SUBDEACONS—ACOLYTES — EXORCISTS — READERS — DOORKEEPERS — INTERPRETERS — COPIATAE — PARABOLANI — PSALMISTS: ORGAN—PSALMODY.

1. HITHERTO we have been tracing the history of the superior ministry of the Church particularly in the first four centuries. In the first chapter I have considered the development of the monarchical episcopate which was everywhere accepted in the Church some time before the end of the third century and received its final approval in the decision of the case of Colluthus just before the Council of Nicaea. In the second chapter I have endeavoured to exhibit the relation of this Episcopate to the two other orders of clergy which have apostolic foundation, and to give some idea of the organisation of a 'parochia' or community centring round a city and of the rights which a Bishop had within it, as a constitutional sovereign, and of his relation to the Church at large, particularly in the first half of the third century. The subject of the present chapter is the minor orders.

2. The account of the minor orders may start from the earliest enumeration of them which has come down to us, in the letter of Cornelius of Rome to

Fabius of Antioch, dated A.D. 251, to which reference has been already made (Eus. 'H. E.' vi. 43, ed. Heinichen). His list of Church officers is: 'One Bishop, thirty-six Presbyters, seven Deacons, seven Subdeacons, forty-two Acolytes, fifty-two Exorcists and Readers, together with Doorkeepers, Widows and afflicted persons more than 1500, all of whom the Lord's grace and kindness feeds.'

What a student of antiquity will note in this list is (1) the prominence given to the Subdeacons; (2) the mention of Acolytes, who are unknown in the East; (3) the low position given to the Exorcists and Readers; (4) the absence of the name of Deaconesses, and the position of Widows merely as recipients of relief. Nor, lastly, is there any reference to Ascetics or Virgins or Psalmists. On the other hand, the series of minor orders, Subdeacon, Acolyte, Exorcist, Reader, Doorkeeper, corresponds to the present degrees through which a candidate for the higher ministry has still to pass in the Roman Church.

3. The *Subdiaconate*, which appears first on this list, was no doubt formed by subdivision of the duties of the Diaconate, as were the offices of Acolyte and Doorkeeper (Ostiarius)—all probably originating in the Church of Rome. Its institution may confidently be ascribed to the first half of the third century, and with some probability to the time of Fabian of Rome, A.D. 236–250. There is no mention of Subdeacons in the works of Tertullian († *circa* A.D. 230), and this letter of Cornelius's and those of his contemporary,

Cyprian, are the first accurately dated documents in which they are named.[1]

It is easy to understand how the Deacons at Rome came, about this period, to expand in the manner implied by the letter of Cornelius. They were a small, powerful, energetic and, in some cases no doubt, ambitious body, having each his own ecclesiastical 'Region' in the city, before the Presbyters had local rights.[2] Such men would naturally not like the rather menial offices elsewhere assigned to Deacons of preparing the sacred vessels, watching the doors, and the like. The Subdeacons also appear to have risen in rank with the Deacons. At first in the Roman Church there was no ceremony connected with their admission to office—possibly not even a prayer was said. It is a peculiarity of the latter part of the 'Apostolic Constitutions' (viii. 20) to make them receive imposition of hands. The probably Gallican ceremony of admission by the delivery of an empty chalice[3] was introduced into the Roman Church as early perhaps as the seventh, and certainly by the ninth, century.[4]

[1] They are mentioned in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, vii. 49, 52; but in a manner which rather suggests interpolation.

[2] The *Liber Pontificalis* ascribes the first institution of 'tituli' or district churches at Rome to Pope Dionysius, A.D. 259–268.

[3] See the *Statuta Eccl. Ant.* ('Gallican Statutes') 5: 'Subdiaconus cum ordinatur, quia manus impositionem non accipit, patenam de episcopi manu accipiat vacuam et calicem vacuum, de manu vero archidiaconi urceolum cum aqua et mantile [*lege* et aquamanile] et manutergium.' The ewer, basin (aquamanile) and towel were to wash the Bishop's hands. These rules are admitted into the so-called 'Gelasian' Sacramentary.

[4] It is mentioned, with other Gallican ceremonies, in the so-called *Missale Francorum*, *circa* A.D. 700. We find in the *Ordo*

Since the time of Pope Innocent III., *circa* A.D. 1199, Subdeacons have been ranked among the major orders of the Roman Church– a manifest breach with antiquity. See Martene, I. viii. 1, § 6, t. ii. p. 5, ed. 1736.

4. It may be mentioned that the only words which can be construed into a reference to clerical celibacy in the modern Roman Pontifical occur in an address in the ordination of Subdeacons. They are told that up to that moment they are free to return to secular occupations, but after this they cannot change their purpose, 'sed Deo, cui servire regnare est, perpetuo famulari et castitatem, illo adjuvante, servare oportebit, atque in ecclesiae ministerio semper esse mancipatos. Proinde, dum tempus est cogitate, et si in sancto proposito perseverare placet in nomine Domini huc accedite.' [5] The general promise after-

Romanus, viii. 2: 'Porriget ei archidiaconus vel episcopus calicem sanctum in ulnas foras planeta: et se in terra prosternet et dat ei Orationem.'

[5] Attempts were made, with varying energy and varying success, from the time of Leo I. (A.D. 445) onwards, to force continence on Subdeacons. This address, however, does not appear in the ancient books. 'In vetustioribus omnino libris desideratur,' says Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. viii. 8, § 3. A late manuscript Rouen Pontifical has a different form of sermon, quoted by Martene, *l.c.* t. ii. p. 49, ed. 1736, which says, 'etiam a coniugio . . . omnino se contineant,' but this implies no promise on their part. The second address, 'Vide cuius ministerium' (now cut short at the beginning) is much older, occurring in the so-called *Missale Francorum*, the *Sacramentary of Hadrian*, the Egbert and Milanese Pontificals, and elsewhere. It bids the candidate for the Subdiaconate if hitherto late at church to be now 'assiduus,' if once sleepy to be now wakeful, if drunken to be now sober, if 'inhonestus' to be now 'castus.' Here 'castus' may reasonably be considered to embrace honourable life in marriage, according to St. Ambrose's triple division, *De Viduis*, iv. 23:

wards made to obey the canons of the Church, contained in the profession of faith drawn up by Pope Pius IV.,[6] is, of course, an implicit acceptance of celibacy; but this promise to obey the canons of the Roman Church is clearly not binding on those who leave the communion of Rome.

It may then be asked: Does the approach to receive the Subdiaconate, after listening to the address just quoted, in itself bind a man to celibacy for the rest of his life? It would, I think, be a too rigid morality to say so. For, first, a vow of celibacy is far too serious a thing to be taken except in explicit terms; and it was quite within the power of the Church to have exacted such a promise in explicit terms if it had desired to impose it. To entrap a man into it, under the plea that 'silence gives consent,' is unworthy of a Christian Church, and must not be attributed to it without absolute necessity. Secondly, 'chastity' and 'celibacy' are different things. Celibacy, if properly observed, is a kind of chastity: but many persons are chaste without being celibate, and many are celibate without being chaste. Thirdly, the approach to receive the Subdiaconate is governed by the general purpose to remain in the sacred ministry, and does not necessarily imply acceptance of the definition of chastity in the mind of the

'Docemur triplicem castitatis esse virtutem, unam coniugalem, aliam viduitatis, tertiam virginitatis; non enim aliam sic praedicamus ut excludamus alias.'

[6] The Creed of Pope Pius IV. is found in the Bull 'Iniunctum nobis,' dated 9 December 1564, generally printed in the Appendix to the Trent Canons, and elsewhere.

Bishop who is ordaining. I may mention that the German Old Catholics hold the resolution of their Synod on the subject to be a perpetual dispensation from any vow or Canon,[7] just as we may consider our 32nd Article of Religion to be. And therefore, it may be argued, any Roman cleric accepting the XXXIX Articles is *ipso facto* dispensed from his previous obligation, whatever it was.

What may be expedient is quite a different thing; and there is no doubt that the desire of Priests, who leave the Roman obedience in considerable numbers, to marry (natural as it is after their experience of the miserable results of involuntary celibacy) is a handle against them on the part of their enemies, and is ruthlessly used in many quarters to discredit their motives.

I have known instances where a consideration of religious expediency has deterred such men from marriage with a great advantage to their position. It did so, I imagine, in the case of some of our own Elizabethan Bishops, such as Jewel and Geste.

5. That the Subdiaconate was a Roman institution is a conjecture confirmed by its absence from the Church of Milan. Indeed, neither Acolytes nor Subdeacons are mentioned in the works of St. Ambrose. Dr. Magistretti suggests that in the Church of Milan both offices were originally treated as one, and that the common name of 'Notarii' was given to them.[8] It also arose later in the East than in the West.

[7] See Von Schulte, *Der Altkatholicismus*, p. 649 (Giessen, 1887).

[8] *La Liturgia della Chiesa Milanese nel sec. iv.* pp. 36–41 (Milano, 1899).

Where *ὑποδιάκονος* or *ὑποδιάκων* is used we may reasonably conclude that there is a Roman source for the Church Order containing the name.[9] The proper parallel Greek term is *ὑπηρέτης*, and this no doubt included the offices assigned to the Acolytes at Rome, when they were not discharged by the Deacons, and sometimes apparently those of the Ostiarii.[10]

6. The *Acolytes*, though they have a Greek name, are, as I have implied, a peculiarly Western and Roman institution. They are mentioned in the Epistles of St. Cyprian as well as in that of Cornelius to Fabius, and Eusebius refers to some as being present at the Council of Nicaea, doubtless in the train of Western Bishops.[11] They seem to have been frequently used as bearers of letters.

[9] Ὑποδιάκων is found in the Coptic *Egyptian Heptateuch*, 36, and *ὑποδιάκονος* in *Apost. Const.* viii. 20, 27 (21, 28), based also on the lost Church Order. The name had become familiar to Easterns in the course of the fourth century; and it occurs in the 10th Canon of Antioch, A.D. 341, and in Epiphanius, *Expos. Fid. Cath.* 21, ed. Petav. i. 1104.

[10] Ὑπηρέτης, as Dr. Bright says in his note on the 18th Canon of Nicaea, is a word 'full of history.' As an alternative term for a Deacon it goes back almost to Acts xiii. 5 and Ignatius, *Trall.* 2; cp. *Ancyra* 10. So even in *Apost. Const.* ii. 28. But as the Deacon rose in great cities the term passed down to his subordinates: see *A. C.* iii. 11, vi. 17 (*Didascalia*) and *ὑπηρεσία* in the Antiochene Liturgy, viii. 10. The Subdiaconate is called *ἡ ἀχειροτόνητος ὑπηρεσία* by St. Basil, *Ep. Can.* 51. A similar use of *ὑπηρέτης* is found in the Canons, *Neocaes.* 10, *Laod.* 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 43 (restricting their rights). From the last of these it seems that *ὑπηρέται* had to watch the doors, and from Sozomen, *H. E.* vi. 31, that they had to light the lamps, showing that the Greek officer had the duties of Ostiarius and Acolyte as well as of Subdeacon.

[11] Cypr. *Epp.* 7, 34, 52, 59; Eus. *Vit. Const.* iii. 8.

Their highest duty at Rome, of which mention is made in the letter ascribed to Innocent I. (A.D. 402), was to carry the consecrated sacramental bread or 'fermentum' to the Presbyters of the different churches of the City, and they were therefore admitted in that Church by the delivery of a linen bag or sacculus. This form lasted there to the ninth century.[12] But when this rite fell into disuse at Rome, the Gallican form of ordination was adopted in which the Acolyte received a candlestick from the Archdeacon, in token of his office to light the lamps or candles, and also a little pitcher to carry the Eucharistic wine.[13] The intervention of the Archdeacon was, I presume, to show the Acolytes' relation to the order of which he was the head.

7. *Exorcists* and *Readers*, though in the time of Cornelius they were below the Acolytes, were probably both officers of much older standing and once had a higher place. Exorcists indeed, and Readers in a less degree, are survivals of the old charismatic ministry to which reference has been made in a previous chapter, who discharged their offices at the call of the Holy Spirit rather than as chosen by men. Exorcists were particularly needed to exercise their gift in preparation for Baptism; and it is to the traditional continuance of Baptismal ceremonies that they owe their present existence, shadowy as it is.

[12] *Ord. Rom.* viii. 1. The candidate was clad in chasuble and stole (*planeta* and *orarium*) and received the bag on his arms. This duty was at first done by the Deacons: see Ch. II. p. 160.

[13] *Statuta Eccl. Ant.* 6, adopted into the Gelasian Sacramentary and that of Hadrian, and followed in the modern Roman form.

Originally their business was with energumens or demoniacs, whether baptised or catechumens or unbaptised. But they fell into a class and had to learn the forms of exorcism by heart from a book (as if they were magical charms), and therefore it was reasonable that their office should drop into desuetude as a definite calling. The old Roman ritual had no form for appointing them : the Gallican form was to give a book containing exorcisms, and this rite has, as in other cases, found its way into the Roman Pontifical.

8. The position of a *Reader* is somewhat different. His was at one time an important office in the Church and it is concerned with a permanent duty. In the earliest document in which it is mentioned, c. 19 of the 'Apostolic Church Order'—evidently much older than the final date of the book—he comes next to the Presbyter. His office is described in rather striking terms : 'Let a Reader be appointed, having first been subject to trial, with no impediment in his speech [14] (γλωσσοκόπος), not a drunkard, not a jester (γελωτολόγος), well-mannered (εὔτροπος), easy-tempered (εὐπειθής), kindly, the first who makes his way to the assemblies of the Lord, easily audible (εὐήκοος), with power of narration (διηγητικός),

[14] This word γλωσσοκόπος (or perhaps γλωσσόκοπος) is rendered 'linguosus' in Hauler's Verona text, and 'linguosus' may mean, as Ducange explains it, 'mimus' or 'scurra' = 'a buffoon,' and so give a good sense. But γλωσσοκοπέω is obviously closely related to γλωσσοτομέω, 'to cut out the tongue.' Cp. *Gloss. Philox.* : 'γλωσσοτομία Linguatio, Elinguatio ; γλωσσοτομῶ Linguo.' This may explain Hauler's manuscript rendering 'linguosus.'

knowing that he works the place of an Evangelist. For he who fills the ears of those who do not understand shall be counted a workman enrolled in the books of God.'

The duty of a Reader in church is of course primitive and honourable. It must always be respected by Christians as the one definite public ministry which our Blessed Lord accepted in the Jewish Church.[15] The service of the Christian Church was in many points similar to that of the Synagogue, and reading the Scriptures was a duty common to both, though in the Synagogue a special class of persons was not set apart for it. In the Church it was often, though not exclusively, committed to the ordained clergy. Thus St. Paul writes to Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 13): 'Till I come, give attention to reading, to exhortation, to teaching,' and he goes on to connect these duties with the special gift received at his ordination.

9. It would seem that in the first age also the Reader was expected to give traditional explanations of passages which had not been explicitly expressed in order to avoid suspicion on the part of the heathen. I take it that this is the meaning of the verse at the end of Daniel (xii. 10), 'the wise' or 'the teachers shall understand' and of the note inserted into our

[15] St. Luke says (iv. 16) that He went into the Synagogue κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ, and stood up to read. This seems to imply that His reading was customary as well as His attendance at Synagogue. What was new was His preaching. The fact that Julian acted as a Reader before he became Emperor is worth noting.

Blessed Lord's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem both in St. Matthew (xxiv. 15) and St. Mark (xiii. 14) : 'He that readeth let him understand.' Some of the notes of interpretation in St. John's Gospel (*e.g.* i. 38, 41, 42 etc.) may probably be similarly explained as glosses introduced by Readers. It is further not improbable that the primitive Reader was also usually an Interpreter, able to translate the Aramaic Gospel or even Epistle into Greek, and that this is the meaning of Papias's remark about St. Matthew's Gospel: 'Everyone interpreted it as he was able'; *i.e.* before the authorised Greek version was published every Reader in a bilingual Church did his best to render the book offhand into Greek (Eus. 'H. E.' iii. 39, 15).

A Reader, again, is mentioned in Justin's description of the Liturgy (*circa* 140 A.D.) as distinct from the President who preached and said the prayers, and the Deacons who distributed the Eucharist after its consecration. He was therefore at that time apparently neither a Bishop nor a Deacon. The remark of the 'Apostolic Church Order' which puts him before the Deacons, 'Let him know that he works the place of an Evangelist,' implies something of a charismatic ministry, and, indeed, not without reason, as those who have heard really good reading in church can testify. By the time of Tertullian, however, the Reader was distinctly below a Deacon; and he notices it as a mark of heretical disorder that a man who is to-day a Deacon may, among heretics, to-morrow be a Reader, *i.e.* may go down a step in the Ministry ('De Praescr.' 41). Similarly in the lost

Church Order he seems to have ranked next to the Deacon.[16]

10. But by the middle of the century he has fallen below the Subdeacon, as in Cyprian, and even below the Acolyte, as in the letter of Cornelius. His position in the African Church was, however, afairly high one, as St. Cyprian's letters testify, and if that Church had continued to have a powerful existence the office might have maintained something of its old dignity. We get a glimpse of it in the Diocletian persecution in which the Readers played a considerable part as Martyrs and Confessors, since the copies of the Scriptures, which were specially sought out and destroyed, were in their custody. In the interesting and lifelike 'Acts of the Spoliation of the Church of Cirta' in 303 A.D.[17] we find the Readers pointed to by other Church officers as responsible for the sacred books. One very large copy was found alone in the church. When the Subdeacons were asked for more they replied: 'We have no more, because we are Subdeacons: but the Readers have the books.' Search was then made in the Readers' houses (of whom six were named) with the result that thirty-two more books and four unbound sheets

[16] As in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, vii. § 48, the *Egyptian Heptateuch*, 35, and the *Ethiopic Statutes*, 27 (after Widows). The paralle passage in Hauler's fragments is lost. In the *Testament of our Lord* i. 23 (pp. 37, 47), the Readers are mentioned before Subdeacons in i. 35, p. 87, Subdeacons come first. In *Ap. Const.* viii. 20, Subdeacons come first, as was natural in a document edited late in the fourth century.

[17] *Monum. ad Donatistarum Hist.* (*P. L.* viii. 731).

(*quiniones*) were found. There is evidence also that in the Spanish Church Lectors read the Epistle and Gospel at least up to the year 400, and I believe that in the Eastern Church great freedom is allowed to the present day.[18] But the general tendency in the West has been to depress the office of Reader and to exalt the more external side of worship.

In the Latin Church the Reader was apparently restricted to the Old Testament lessons in the Mass, and as these dropped out his office fell more and more into desuetude. The Subdeacon took the Epistle as his special province, and the Deacon the Gospel. The only reference I can find directly to the 'Lector' as still officiating, in the rubrics of the Roman Missal, is before the Prophecy on Good Friday, a day on which many ancient customs are observed. No doubt the eight Prophecies of Easter Eve should also be read by Lectores.[19]

11. This elevation of ritual and disciplinary officers, at the expense of an order of men who had the great duty of reading holy Scriptures to the people, is a development of a retrograde character which we ought not to fail to notice. Certainly our own Church has done well in reviving the office of Reader as an important one and in encouraging men

[18] *Conc. Tolet.* i., canon 2; Smith, *De Graecae Eccl. hod. Statu*, p. 145, quoted by Martene, I. iv. 5, § 1.

[19] See Gavantus, *In Rubr. Miss.* ad loc.: 'Leguntur Prophetiae] In medio Chori . . . ubi scilicet ab omnibus audiri queat Lector.' From a note on the general Rubric about the Epistle (p. 127, ed. Ant. 1646) it seems that one of lower rank than a Subdeacon may read it, clad in a surplice.

of position to accept it. It is well that such men, whether landowners, merchants and professional men, or schoolmasters, organists, clerks and sextons, and the like, should not only become Readers in the daily offices, but should officiate, as far as laymen can, in the Liturgy proper. It is, in my opinion, a great mistake to put forward boys in the latter capacity. Sometimes this is done when other clergy are in church, perhaps in something like lay dress. The service should be made as noble and dignified as man can make it; as many clergy as possible of all ranks should take part in it; and the people should be instructed and induced to 'draw near' in person by coming into the chancel at the offertory. Readers certainly took part in the Eucharistic office in ancient days, in reading the Scriptures generally, and particularly the Psalms and Gospel, and in standing with other clergy at the anaphora. The reading of the Gospel is implied in two forms of the lost Church Order, and it was permitted in the African Church.[20]

[20] *Can. Hipp.* vii. 48: 'Neque manus ei imponatur primo [*i.e.* until he is advanced to a higher ministry] sed evangelium ab episcopo ipsi porrigatur.' Even in the *Testament of our Lord*, i. 45, where 'a book' only is mentioned, the reading of the Gospel is implied in the prayer: '"Tu autem N. quem Christus vocavit ut sis minister verborum ipsius, cura et contende ut appareas probatus in canone isto et in gradu adhuc maiore, etiam coram Domino nostro Iesu Christo, ut tibi in suis mansionibus sempiternis retribuat pro his mercedem optimam," et sacerdotes dicant "Fiat, fiat, fiat."' In the *Egypt. Heptateuch*, 35, the 'Apostle' (= St. Paul's Epistles) is given. In *Ap. Const.* viii. 11, 'a book' only is mentioned; the Reader receives imposition of hands, and a rather fine prayer is prescribed, asking for him 'a prophetic spirit,' and making reference to Ezra. For the Psalms see *Canons of Basil* 96-7.

According to St. Cyprian the Lector read the Gospel from the 'pulpitum' or 'tribunal' ('Epp.' 38, 39), that is apparently from an 'Ambo' projecting in front of the raised step on which the clergy sat and where the Eucharist was celebrated. This was the place in which all the Liturgical Scriptures were read, and no lower position was assigned to the Reader than to any other officer of the Church.

12. The office of *Doorkeeper* or *Ostiarius*, the lowest of those mentioned by Cornelius and of the existing degrees of ministry through which a candidate has to pass in the Roman Church, is, like those of Subdeacon and Acolyte, formed by division of the Deacon's duties. Even as late as the 'Apostolic Constitutions' we find a Deacon standing at the women's door, while a Doorkeeper is at the men's door (ii. 57).

There is no earlier reference to the Ostiarius than the letter of Cornelius. He was admitted in the Gallican rite by the delivery of the keys, and this is now the practice of the Roman Pontifical. The bells are also put into his charge.

13. I have spoken in passing of *Interpreters*. They have left but scanty traces in Church History as a distinct order of men, though there can be no doubt that their duty was a necessary and frequent one in bilingual countries such as Syria, Egypt and Africa.

The use of Interpreters in the Jewish Church was introduced after the Captivity, as we learn from the eighth chapter of the book of Nehemiah, where we

find a description of the solemn reading of the Law by Ezra the priest, and have a list of the names of those who 'made the people to understand' (Neh. viii. 7, 8, 9, 13). They seem to have been all or most of them Levites (cp. Neh. ix. 4). Their duty of course was to translate the Hebrew text read by Ezra into the vernacular Syriac or Chaldee, which the people, with the usual facility and adaptability of Israelites, had acquired during their captivity. In the New Testament 'interpretation' is directly mentioned only in reference to the 'unknown tongues' (γλῶσσαι) in 1 Cor. xii. 10, xiv. 5, 26, 28: but the ordinary use required no direct mention and may be taken for granted. For my own part, I believe that the twelve Apostles generally, like our Lord Himself, spoke in Hebrew, or rather Aramaic, such as was used in Galilee. They would therefore need interpreters when they passed out of Jewish synagogues into Greek-speaking lands, or even in some of the synagogues of Decapolis. St. Peter, the Apostle of the circumcision, is said to have had Mark for one interpreter, and Glaucias, who afterwards became a heretic, for another. It may be, as St. Jerome suggests, that the difference between his two Epistles is partly due to the variety of translators from the original, and it is likely that those who interpreted for him orally would also be employed in making versions of his writings. I have elsewhere[21] brought forward evidence to show the probability that the Epistle of St. James had a

[21] See the *Studia Biblica*, vol. i. pp. 142–150, Oxford, 1885.

Hebrew or Aramaic original. Dr. Biesenthal has done the same, with infinitely greater knowledge, for the Epistle to the Hebrews. But as the Church grew more powerful, first Greek and then Greek and Latin grew to be its special languages, though there is a large Christian literature in Syriac and Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic and Arabic, which is largely based on interpretation, especially from the Greek.

In Palestine and Egypt it is still common to hear parts of the service in two languages : in Greek and Arabic, or English and Arabic, in Palestine, and in Coptic and Arabic in Egypt. Even in the West some traces remain of bilingual services in Greek and Latin, as in the service for Good Friday, where the anthem Ἅγιος ὁ θεός is said alternately in Greek and Latin in connection with the 'Improperia' or reproaches to the people of Israel. Similarly, *Kyrie eleison* etc. is said at the beginning of the Litany. But in old days in some places, both in Italy and France, there was a much larger use of the Greek language, of which details may be found in Martene, I. iii. 2, and iv. 5, § 4. No doubt some of the Graeco-Latin Gospels, like the Codex Bezae, were used for this purpose, and probably the Graeco-Latin Epistles likewise.

14. The ancient notices of Interpreters as a class come from Syria and Egypt. Procopius the martyr held the three offices of Reader, Interpreter and Exorcist in the Church of Scythopolis, one of the towns of Decapolis; Epiphanius mentions them in his list of Church officers as 'interpreters from one

language into another either in the readings or the sermons'; and they are prayed for with Subdeacons and Readers in the lately discovered Egyptian prayer-book.[22] No traces of their ordination have, I believe, been found. A striking instance of their work in our own land is that of King Oswald standing by the side of St. Aidan as he preached in Northumbria.

15. Epiphanius in his list names 'Subdeacons, Readers, Deaconesses, Exorcists, Interpreters, Copiatae and Doorkeepers.' The *Copiatae* or Toilers were the grave-diggers of the Church—a class specially prominent in times of persecution. The earliest notices of them are from the Roman catacombs, where the Fossarii or Fossores appear as skilled artisans, first as working for love (*benefacere*), then for payment. Elsewhere they seem to belong rather to the clergy; and there are traces of the prior assignment of their duties to the Deacons: see Eus. 'H. E.' vii. 11, 24; 'Testament of our Lord,' i. 34; cp. St. Bernard, 'Vit. S. Malach.' 3. At Cirta, in 303, the Fossores are mentioned after the Subdeacons ('P. L.' 8, 731). They are referred to as νεκροτάφοι in the recently discovered letter of Psenosiris, probably of the same date (*B.M. Pap.* 713, ed. Ad. Deissmann, Lond. 1902). Later Western documents number

[22] Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, p. 353, and in Valesius's notes on Eusebius: 'in Syri interpretatione sermonis'; Epiph. *Expos. Fid.* at end of the *Panarium*, c. 21; Sarapion, no. 25. 'Silvia' has an interesting description of interpretation, both of the lections and sermons from Greek into Syriac, and also of the sermons into Latin, at Jerusalem. But a Presbyter interpreted for the Bishop.

them more definitely among the clergy (Hieron. 'Ep. 49 ad Innocent'; Mai, 'Spic. Rom.' ix. 133; Ps. Hieron., 'de vii gradibus eccl.'—quoted by Kraus, *s.v.* 'Fossores'). In the East Constantine assigned 950 *lectionarii* and *decani* to the service of the Church in Constantinople, a number increased by Anastasius to 1100. But these were rather public servants.

16. About the same time as the institution of the Copiatae arose that of the *Parabolani* (παραβολανεῖς), whose office was to attend the sick, especially in times of pestilence, and who are noted as specially numerous at Alexandria. They are thought to have their name from the 'hazard' to which their lives were exposed, as suggested by St. Paul (Phil. ii. 30).

They, too, were doing work that in earlier times was counted a duty of the Deacons and Deaconesses ('Ap. Const.' iii. 19), or of ordinary Christian people: as in the plagues described by St. Cyprian and Dionysius of Alexandria. For some reason or another the service became a large and popular one, and led to factious organisation requiring repression by law. The guild or corporation so formed is mentioned several times in imperial laws; but it does not seem to have continued much after the time of Justinian. Probably the need for it became less with the growth of hospitals, which were an institution of the fourth century. It will be remembered that Christian hospitals and poor-houses excited the emulation of the Emperor Julian, an emulation probably especially kindled by the efforts of his former friend, St. Basil,[23]

[23] See the interesting article 'Hospitals' in *Dict. Chr. Ant.*

of which Gregory Nazianzen speaks so eloquently in his Panegyric after Basil's death.

17. Sacred music is primitive in the Christian Church, but special bodies of *Psaltae* or *Psalmists* are not an early institution. Our Saviour and His Apostles sang a 'hymn'—that is, probably, a Psalm or a group of Psalms—at the close of the Last Supper, an incident which has always dwelt in the loving memory of the Church. St. Paul in two of the Epistles of the Roman captivity (Eph. v. 19, Col. iii. 16) takes for granted that the praise of God and sound doctrine will be the subject of 'Psalms and hymns and spiritual songs'; and one of the earliest references to the Church in secular literature —Pliny's letter to Trajan—mentions the 'songs addressed to Christ as God' which were chanted by Christians alternately in their regular meetings before day-break. There is also an elaborate comparison between unity of spirit and choral music in St. Ignatius's Epistle to the Ephesians (ch. 4) which implies familiar experience of the latter art and suggests an instrumental accompaniment. But this, as I shall show presently, is an almost isolated evidence.

Those also who prefer congregational music may find an argument for it in the fact that Psalmists or choirmen are not mentioned in the Church till the latter half of the fourth century, when they are spoken of in the 'Apostolic Constitutions,' iii. 11, and the 'Apostolic Canons,' 43 and 69, as well as by the Council of Laodicea, can. 24, just after or just

before the Readers, with whose office they are frequently connected in forms of ordination.

Before proceeding to give some account of the method of Psalmody it may be as well to conclude what has to be said respecting the use of instruments in the Church.

18. The passage of Ignatius, as I have said, stands very much alone ; and in the Eastern Churches to the present day such music is not admitted. This is all the more remarkable since the Apocalypse represents the service of heaven as accompanied by harpers harping with their harps (v. 8, xiv. 2, xv. 2), and Orpheus with his lute is a symbol of Christ both in the literature and art of the first three centuries.[24] Nor was the practice of playing on a harp forbidden to Christians in their domestic festivals, or perhaps in the agapae or banquets of loving fellowship (see Clem. Al. ' Paed.' ii. 5). The flute was wholly proscribed, as ministering too much to the passions and intimately connected with the dangerous associations of the theatre.

Various reasons have been suggested to account for this remarkable neglect of an art that is in itself so fitted to assist proper religious emotion. It may be that it was thought undesirable, in days when persecution was imminent, to attract attention to Christian assemblies by the sound of instruments. It may be that even the harp was too much associated with heathen festivals. I cannot think it is likely that Thomas Aquinas is right in asserting that the

[24] See Kraus, *Realencykl.* s.v. ' Orpheus.'

Church avoided instrumental music lest it should seem to Judaise,[25] though that was a Puritan cry in later days. The matter deserves more attention than has apparently been bestowed upon it by theologians.

19. Even the *organ*, which to us is so closely associated with Church music that any other kind of music played upon it seems almost irreverent, was known for a long period apparently only as an instrument of secular education or amusement. It has a long pre-Christian history, starting originally with the mouth-organ, the pan-pipe or syrinx, to which, in the course of its development, wind was supplied by hydraulic pressure or by bellows, and it is not infrequently referred to by Christian writers on account of the marvels of its construction, the first to mention it being Tertullian ('De An.' 14).[26] Representations of it are found on early Christian monuments at Rome, and a remarkable one of pneumatic organs, blown by men standing on the bellows, is on the obelisk set up by Theodosius the Great in the hippodrome at Constantinople.

The introduction of the organ into the Western Church may go back to the time of Pope Vitalian

[25] *Summa, secunda secundae*, q. 91, art. 2: 'Ecclesia nostra non assumit instrumenta musica, sicut citharas et psalteria, in divinas laudes, ne videatur judaizare,' quoted by Bingham, viii. 7, § 14.

[26] References in support of the statements in this paragraph will be partly found (somewhat awkwardly arranged) in Kraus, *Realencykl.* s.v. 'Orgel.' The figures on the obelisk of Theodosius are on p. 558. Other, and in some respects fuller, information will be found in Mr. R. Lunn's article 'Organ' in *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, where there are also three interesting woodcuts. Neither article, however, is quite worthy of the subject.

(A.D. 658–672). Its use is, however, generally traced to the present made by the Emperor Constantine Copronymus to Pipin, King of France, in A.D. 757.[27] This was not itself for church use, but it is supposed to have been the model or suggestion on which his son, Charles the Great, had one built for his cathedral at Aachen. But, even with the help of this precedent, churchmen were slow in adopting the instrument—partly, no doubt, on account of its costliness and the difficulty of playing it, partly also because the old plain song did not need and was not intended for such accompaniment.

It is interesting, nevertheless, to recollect that St. Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, *circa* A.D. 700, gives a yet earlier description of the organ, probably from experience ('De Laude Virginum,' *P. L.* 89, p. 240), and that St. Dunstan gave one to Aldhelm's convent of Malmesbury, which apparently remained until the twelfth century (Will. Malmesb. 'Vit. Ald.' *P. L.* 179, p. 1660). Ailwin similarly provided copper organ pipes for Ramsey Abbey (founded A.D. 969). The Benedictine Cathedral of Winchester had a grand organ with 400 pipes in the middle of the tenth century, and that of Canterbury had one built in the twelfth century. It was in fact specially to English conventual churches that the organ belonged. For, according to Martene, its use was probably unknown in French Abbeys before the fourteenth century.

The common use of organs in Italy has been connected with the name of the Venetian Marino

[27] Martene on *Regula S. Benedicti*, c. 19, *P. L.* 66, p. 475.

Sanuto Torsello—an historian of the Crusades (*circa* A.D. 1312). But they have never penetrated into the papal chapel; nor was the music of Palestrina or Orlando Lasso written for the organ. At the Reformation Lutherans were generally for, and Calvinists against, the organ, and our own generation has seen it introduced into Scotland with some reluctance and by no means universally. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth some of the reforming party noted it as a defect that 'In addition to the exquisite singing in parts the use of organs is become more general in the churches.'[28] An organ was built for Canterbury Cathedral by Abp. Parker.[29] But during the civil wars organs were generally destroyed or removed and thus gave an opening at the Restoration for the large work done in this country by the German Bernard Smith (commonly called Father Smith) and the Frenchmen Thomas and René Harris. It is only, however, in the nineteenth century that organs have come into nearly all parish churches, displacing the bands of musicians which many of us can still remember, though few, I fear, still remain.

20. As regards the *method of Psalmody* in the ancient Church, it was originally congregational. We may, however, distinguish three methods of congregational singing: (1) when the whole Psalm or hymn was sung by all together; (2) when the verses were sung antiphonally, first by those on one side of the

[28] 'Laurence Humphry and Thomas Sampson to H. Bullinger,' A.D. 1566, in *Zurich Letters*, i. p. 164 (Parker Society).

[29] *Zurich Letters*, ii. p. 150.

church and then by those on the other; (3) when the leader or minister sang half the verse and the people responded with the other half. The first would be applicable to the Psalms sung most frequently. Some Psalms were so familiar, by constant use, that it was only necessary to give out the first line, and the whole body would take it up. The Deacon, as the deputy of the Bishop, would act as precentor. Such Psalms would be those usually sung at morning and evening prayer, *e.g.* the 63rd, 'O God, thou art my God: early will I seek thee,' and the corresponding evening Psalm 141, 'Lord, I call upon thee, haste thee unto me: and consider my voice when I cry unto thee. Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense: and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice.'[30] Such also would be the 34th, sung as an invitation to Communion, 'I will alway give thanks. . . . O taste, and see, how gracious the Lord is,' and two other Eucharistic Psalms, the 45th, 'My heart is inditing,' and the 145th, 'I will magnify thee, O God, my King,' which in many points is suitable. A verse of this Psalm, I may remark, is still over the door of the old Cathedral—once the temple of Rimmon, and now the great Mosque—at Damascus: 'Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion is to all generations,' where I photographed it 30 January 1898, having,

[30] *Ap. Const.* viii. 35, cp. ii. 59, and St. Chrys. *In Psalm.* 140 (our 141), who speaks of it as being sung daily, and known by nearly everyone. The 133rd, 'Behold how good,' was probably sung at the agape: Tert. *De Ieiuniis*, 13, 'Hoc tu psallere non facile nosti, nisi quo tempore cum compluribus coenas.' See below, pp. 307 ff. 342 ff.

by a curious accident, just sung it in our own little church as one of the Psalms for the day.

Before the institution of the hour services Psalms were sung before and between the liturgical lections, which in early days consisted of parts of the Old as well as of the New Testament. It is probable that, as the hour services increased in length and popularity, the Psalms dropped out of the Liturgy, or were replaced by short hymns or fragments, and the lessons in most churches were reduced to those from the Epistle and Gospel. We ought to remember this fulness of the ancient Liturgy, before in any way encouraging or permitting our young people to be satisfied with presence at Holy Communion, and at no other service, even if they are always communicants.

21. The second method of congregational singing —half answering to half—is implied in Pliny's letter to Trajan (*secum invicem dicentes*) and is based apparently on previous Jewish custom. Nevertheless the notices which we have of it in Church History belong rather to the fourth and fifth centuries. One of them indeed ascribes its origin to Ignatius of Antioch, and this may be evidence that it was specially connected with that Church (Socrates, 'H.E.' vi. 8). The usage of having two choirs is ascribed to the monks Flavian and Diodorus at Antioch in the reign of Constantine, being, I presume, a modification only of an existing custom (Theodoret, 'H. E.' ii. 19). The custom found its way into the West through St. Ambrose (St. Aug. 'Conf.' ix. 7, § 15).

22. The third method, that of the Minister saying part and the people responding, is of course as old as the book of Deuteronomy (xxvii. 15 foll.) in which the people are told to answer *Amen* to every Anathema. *Amen* is mentioned by St. Paul as the people's response to a Eucharistic prayer (1 Cor. xiv. 16). A similar method of more frequent response would seem to be implied in a Psalm like the 136th, which has a refrain, 'For his mercy endureth for ever.' Readers of Church History will remember how St. Athanasius, when the Church at Alexandria was surrounded by Syrianus and his soldiers, sat down on his throne and bade the Deacon read this Psalm and the people to make the response to it: and after it was done, and their minds were so calmed and cheered, bade them depart home ('Apol. de Fuga,' 34). A similar refrain is found of course in the Canticle *Benedicite omnia opera.* We have an instance of it too in the morning hymn to Christ inserted in the 'Testament of our Lord,' i. 26, between the verses of which the people are directed to sing the refrain 'We praise thee, we bless thee, we acknowledge thee, O Lord, and we beseech thee, O God.' A more familiar instance is the use of the *Gloria Patri* after each Psalm, though this is not a very old usage, and the form of it varied from time to time.[31]

[31] See the article 'Doxology' in *Dict. Chr. Ant.* The oldest form appears to be that in Ps.-Ath. *De Virginitate*, c. A.D. 400: 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end, Amen.' *Conc. Tolet.* iv. 13 and 15, A.D. 633, reads 'Gloria et honor'; but the clause 'As it was in the beginning &c.' is of later date.

23. In the modern Greek Church, as far as I have observed, there are always two divisions of the choir, each Psaltes standing at his desk and having a few choristers or singers round him. These desks are to the right and left outside the screen. I have several times taken my stand with the choir and have been courteously offered a book. The people do not, I believe, usually take part in the singing, but hum a bass note. This, I suppose, is what is meant in old writers by *ὑπηχεῖν*. To respond verbally is *ὑπακούειν* or *ὑποψάλλειν*, i.e. either to say the end of the verse of which the minister has said the beginning or to say the *ἀκροστίχιον* or inserted response after a verse or series of verses.

IV

CHRISTIAN ASCETICISM AND THE CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY.

CHRISTIAN asceticism is an attempt to lead a perfect life on earth. It is an effort to fulfil to the utmost the most exacting duties of religion, to follow to the full our blessed Lord's example in the points of it most difficult of imitation, and to accept His severest precepts as literally as reason will permit. Take first the three duties of external devotion which natural religion recognises—almsgiving, prayer and fasting—and make them the chief business of life; take our Lord's example of detachment from earthly ties; take His precepts, 'if thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in Heaven: and come follow me' (St. Matt. xix. 21, which fixed the vocation of St. Antony of Egypt), and 'If any man will come after me let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me' (*ib.* xvi. 24); finally, combine with these His words approving (though by no means enjoining) abstinence from marriage for the sake of the Kingdom (*ib.* xix. 12) and His final blessing on detachment from home and its relations: 'everyone that hath left houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father,

or mother,[1] or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold, and shall inherit eternal life' (*ib.* xix. 29, R.V.)—and you have a fairly complete account of the ideal of a Christian ascetic. Add to these the influence of such examples as those of Elijah and John the Baptist, and you have the type of the Christian anchorite. Add again the two duties which common sense shows to be necessary in an ascetic community, the duty of labour and the duty of obedience, and you have the perfection of Monachism. Thus the basis is a strong one, and Christian asceticism in its various forms may rightly claim gratitude as a means of grace by which carefully disciplined lives minister to the well-being of the whole body, though the brethren and sisters who practise it minister neither the word nor the sacraments.

It must not, however, be forgotten that if the basis is genuinely Christian, it does not necessarily involve the whole of Christianity, and that there is a great danger arising, both to ascetics themselves and to those over whom they exercise influence, from the frequent narrowing of the type set up for imitation. To take the most exacting duties, the most

[1] Some Manuscripts add 'or wife,' and so in St. Mark x. 29, 30; but it seems an interpolation from St. Luke xviii. 29, 30. How it is to be interpreted there is not quite clear, for obviously our Lord did not sanction arbitrary desertion. It may mean (1) give up the opportunity of marriage; (2) leave an unbelieving wife who insists upon idolatry or infidelity as the price of her companionship (cp. 1 Cor. vii. 15); or (3) temporarily and by agreement leave wife and children at home and go into the mission field, as we often see done by our own missionaries.

difficult points of Christ's example, the severest precepts, the most uncommon lives, to separate them from other Christian duties and to make an ideal out of them to be followed by everyone who feels inclined, is almost inevitably to miss much that is needful to true perfection. Generally speaking, it may tend to leave out of sight the two great motives of life—love to God and love to our neighbour. Self may be the idol after all. Again, the attempt to be perfect in a laborious and methodical way is too mechanical for those who are called to influence the whole of society and to dedicate the whole of mankind (self included) to God. It leads too often to the neglect of our Lord's warnings about the Christian's *quiet* exercise of the three duties of almsgiving, prayer and fasting, and brings them too prominently before the world. It offends against the precept 'Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth.' It gives occasion to self-conscious pride, if not to actual boasting. It is noticeable that the earliest writer outside the Canon who refers to Christian asceticism is forced to give a warning on this point. 'If any one is able to abide in chastity to the honour of the flesh of the Lord,' writes Ignatius of Antioch to Polycarp of Smyrna, c. 5, 'let him so abide without boasting. If he boast he is lost; and if it be known beyond the Bishop[2] he is polluted.'

[2] This is Bishop Lightfoot's rendering, supported in his notes. The original does not involve (as many have thought) a reproof of the man as setting himself above the Bishop, but implies that he may make the Bishop his confidant and desire his prayers and guidance in the pursuit of his resolution.

The ministry of asceticism, therefore, differs from that which we have been considering in previous chapters in two respects. It is a lay ministry, and it is a charismatic or occasional ministry. That it is a lay ministry is attested by many laws of the Church as well as by the rules of the founders of monastic orders such as St. Benedict.[3] That it is a charismatic ministry—like that of the martyrs and confessors to which it historically succeeded in the third and fourth centuries[4]—is clear, particularly from our Lord's and St. Paul's language as regards what is its most crucial point, the call to continence. Chastity is a virtue required of all Christians, and in most is best fulfilled by adhering to the old precepts given to our first parents and Noah and renewed by St. Paul, both

[3] On the general character of asceticism as a lay movement see Bingham, vii. 2, § 7, and cp. Dr. W. Bright's note on *Chalcedon*, canon 4. St. Jerome's epigrammatic sentence in his *Ep.* 14 *Heliodoro*, c. 8: 'Alia . . . monachorum causa est, alia clericorum. Clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor' etc. was long remembered. It is quoted, *e.g.*, by the *Concilium Aquisgranense*, A.D. 816, in its large collection of documents on the 'forma institutionis canonicorum et sanctimonialium,' no. xcvii. Labbe, *Conc.* 7, p. 1367. Chapters 60 and 62 of St. Benedict's rule clearly treat the priesthood as something external to the order, to be permitted in it under certain conditions.

[4] Paulus, the founder of Egyptian monachism, retired into the desert during the Decian persecution, being denounced by his brother-in-law. This was in A.D. 250. Antony, who was born about this date, may have had personal intercourse with him during his long life, and certainly imitated his example, though not under fear of persecution. The Egyptian anchorites and monks were the great supporters of Athanasius in his days of trial. Thus voluntary asceticism succeeded to confessorship in persecution. Hence 'Confessor' is the general title for an ascetic in the old Roman service books. Our own 'Edward the Confessor' is an instance. He is credited with having lived with his wife as with a daughter.

to men and women, in a religious and equal marriage, one principal aim of which must be the propagation of the race and family.[5] Continence is a distinct gift, which some have and some have not. It depends largely upon mental and physical constitution, and like other gifts is intended for special service.[6]

It has therefore been a departure from the true and rightful position of asceticism to confuse it with the life to which the clergy are called. It has been bad for ascetics and ascetic communities, who have thus been tempted to take a leading position in the Church to which their limited experience has not entitled them, and which they have often misused. It has also been bad for the clergy and their flocks, from whom they have been separated both in manner of life and in aims, more than God's Providence clearly designed them to be. There must be a body of clergy as Pastors and Teachers, as Priests and Ministers, in every age and in every country. Ascetics are for emergencies, like Elijah and John the Baptist, Antony, Basil, Benedict and Francis.

The details of the history of the fusion which has taken place between the clerical and the ascetic

[5] The connection of the increase or decrease of population with chastity is becoming, unfortunately, one of the marked experiences of modern life. Where the birth-rate declines in a nation in time of peace, it is natural to infer either that marriage is being avoided, and unchastity practised on a large scale, or that the marriage relation itself is being misused by intentional evasion of its responsibilities.

[6] St. Matt. xix. 11: 'All cannot receive this saying but those to whom it is given;' 1 Cor. vii. 7: 'Each man hath his own gift (χάρισμα) from God, one after this manner and another after that.'

life are too numerous even for summary. In the East it has not gone nearly so far as in the West, though in both parts of the Empire special legislation for the clergy has marked the union of Church and State ever since the time of Constantine. In the East continence was finally imposed on Bishops, and Bishops alone, by the Trullan Council, A.D. 692, canon 48. In the West attempts were frequently made to bring the clergy in larger or smaller bodies into community life under canonical rule, notably by Eusebius of Vercellae in the fourth and by Augustine of Hippo at the beginning of the fifth century. The 'canonical rule' of Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, *circa* A.D. 750, marks an epoch in Church history. It was an effort to organise a body of clergy under the Bishop, living generally under the rule of St. Benedict, but without the strictness of monastic obedience and the prohibition of private property. This, which was at first a local rule for one Diocese, was taken up by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle under the Emperor Louis in A.D. 816–7, with some modifications, and sent by the Emperor to various parts of his dominions. A similar attempt was made in this country under king Edgar in the tenth century.[7] Neither, however, was

[7] For Eusebius of Vercellae see Ambrose, *Epist.* 64, § 66–70, addressed to that Church after Eusebius's death: 'Ubi duo pariter exigi debent ab episcopo monasterii continentia et disciplina ecclesiae' etc. On 'the canonical rule' for clergy generally see Dacherius's edition of Chrodegang's Rule, reprinted in *P. L.* 89, pp. 1053 foll., which gives the references to the parallels from St. Benedict's Rule (*P. L.* 66, pp. 215 foll.); Isidore's *De Officiis*; Prosper's *Vita contemplativa* etc. On its connection with the Council of 816–7 see Hefele, § 417. On the monastic revival in England see Wm. Hunt, *Hist. of Eng. Ch. to the Conquest*, ch. 17. Cp. E. Hatch, *Growth of Ch. Inst.* ch. 9.

very largely successful; though Chrodegang's institute has given birth to the oath of 'canonical obedience' still taken by our clergy, and to the Cathedral Chapters which are still homes of learning and schools of sacred music, and centres both of energy, in the origination and direction of work, and, to some extent, of counsel, a function which they were specially designed to fulfil. It was impossible to force all the clergy to live in a few centres in a Diocese; but the prominence given to this idea made it more and more natural to look to the monasteries as the proper homes of the clergy and to increase the tendency to endow monastic communities with tithes and land at the expense of the so-called 'secular' clergy. The complement to this enforcement of the monastic ideal upon the clergy was the enforcement of the clerical ideal upon the monks, which began indeed in earlier times, but culminated only in the time of their decay, early in the fourteenth century, when all choir-monks were ordered by Clement V. to be ordained priests.[8]

It would be out of place here to attempt to sketch the whole history of asceticism or even to trace its influence generally on the life of the clergy; but for an able outline of early Monachism I would refer the

[8] The tendency to think monachism specially compatible with the priesthood must be an old one, if the decree ascribed to Pope Boniface IV., 'Sunt nonnulli fulti nullo dogmate,' ap. Gratian, xvi. 9, 1, cap. 25, dated A.D. 610 (Labbe, v. pp. 1618 f.), is genuine. Similar material is contained in the canons of Nîmes, A.D. 1072, the second of which is practically the same as the decree ascribed to Boniface, and may be the original of it. For the decree of Clement V. see *Corpus Juris Canon.: Clementina III.* t. x c. 1, § 8, where it is ascribed to the Council of Vienne, A.D. 1311.

reader to Dom Cuthbert Butler's 'Lausiac History of Palladius,' pp. 228–256 (Camb. 1898). I would also remark that the enforcement of the evangelical counsels as the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience is scholastic and medieval, not ancient. The Benedictine promise ('Rule' c. 58, *v.i.* p. 302) is simply one of 'stability,' 'conversion' and 'obedience.' A similar progress towards rigorous system deeply affected the ordinary ministry, and must be treated in some detail.

The narrative of the struggle for and against clerical celibacy is a long and intricate one. But the same causes are found producing the same effects with a sad and wearisome monotony. There are only a few Councils of any importance in the West, from the Council of Elvira to the present day, which do not deal with it in some form or another. To treat it fully would be to write the history of Christian society and of the relations of Church and State; for a very little knowledge of the subject shows its intimate connection with hierarchical considerations generally, and particularly with the struggle for supremacy on the part of the Roman See. I have tried, however, to acquire such an independent knowledge of the history, as well as of the controversy, as is possible in so well-worn a field, and I see reason to suppose that much might readily be added by any historian who had leisure for research especially in the department of wills and of manuscript registers.[9] But it is impossible to miss the main lines of study and observation.

[9] The case for celibacy is put by many writers: *e.g.* Brother John of Ludegna at the Council of Trent, A.D. 1563 (Labbe, *Conc.*

The only direct references to clerical marriage in the New Testament are those in the Pastoral Epistles, where it is noted among the qualities desirable in

xiv. 1534 foll.), L. Thomassinus, *Vet. et nov. Eccl. Disciplina de Beneficiis*, part. I. lib. ii. cc. 60–66 (Magunt. 1787), and P. Gasparri, *De Sacra Ord.* §§ 515–539 (Paris, 1893). The laws about it are discussed by Sanchez, *De Matrimonio*, lib. vii. disp. 27 foll. (t. ii. p. 101 foll., ed. Lugd. 1690), and Liguori, *Th. Mor.* §§ 806–812 (t. iii p. 627 foll. Paris, 1878). Of foreign writers against compulsory celibacy Chemnitz and Gerard are (as usual) worth reading, the former in his *Examen Conc. Trid.* part 3 (Francofurti, 1574), the latter in his *Loci Theologici*, xxiii. *De Ministerio ecclesiastico*, part 2 (ed. Preuss, vi. 220–260). The fullest and ablest work is that of the brothers J. A. and Augustin Theiner in their remarkable book *Die Einführung der erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit bei den christlichen Geistlichen und ihre Folgen*, published in 1845 and re-edited by Dr. Fr. Nippold in three vols. (Barmen, 1892), where a large number of books and tracts are named. In our own country the Marriage of Priests was defended by Bp. John Poynet of Rochester (aft. Winchester) in 1549, both independently and in answer to 'Thomas Martin' (Bp. Stephen Gardiner). Martin's book in its second form, with a reply to Poynet, was also answered by an anonymous layman (April 1555) in *A Defence of Priestes Mariages*, to some copies of which Abp. Parker added matter of his own: see Ant. Harmer [*i.e.* Hen. Wharton], *A Specimen of some Errors and Defects in the H. of the Ref. by G. Burnet*, p. 80 foll., 1693. There are four copies of *A Defence of Priestes Mariages* in the Bodleian Library, two of the shorter form and two (numbered 4° U 21 Jur. and Tanner 948) with Abp. Parker's additions, which occur on pp. 274 and 276–351 inclusive. Jewel's *Defence of the Apology* contains much useful material; so does [H. Wharton's] *Treatise of the Celibacy of the Clergy* (Lond. 1688, 4°). Henry C. Lea, of Philadelphia, published a *Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*, in 1867 (2nd ed. Boston, 1884), unfortunately without having read Theiner. It is not very scholarly, but it is indispensable on account of its large collection of material. Reference may also be made to Lucien Bocquet, *Esquisse historique du célibat dans l'antiquité et étude sur le célibat ecclésiastique jusqu'au Concile de Trente* (Thèse pour le doctorat: Paris, Giard et Brière, 16 rue Soufflot, 1894), which approaches the subject from the legal side.

a 'Bishop' (1 Tim. iii. 2, Tit. i. 6) or 'Deacon' (1 Tim. iii. 12) that they should be 'husbands of one wife,' ruling their households and children well. Whatever negative force there may be in the word 'one'—a point which has been diversely interpreted[10] —there is, I think, no doubt that St. Paul positively desired all the clergy of Ephesus and Crete to be married men. His object, presumably, was to have men of tried and approved character, experienced in management, examples to the people as householders and parents, who could have confidential intercourse with the families of their flock without causing suspicion, and with fulness of sympathy. These are permanent reasons for clerical marriage; and they were as likely

[10] It must be remembered that μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνήρ, though it may be correctly rendered 'husband of one wife,' is more general in sense = 'a man who has had relations with no other woman than his wife.' A man who had transgressed, either by having a concubine as well as a wife, as many heathen and some nominal Christians did and do, or by lightly putting away his wife and marrying another in her lifetime, would be chiefly if not entirely in the Apostle's mind. Nor was polygamy unknown to the Jews of the Apostolic age and later: see Justin, *Dial.* 134. Dr. J. E. Huther has discussed this question with skill and fairness, and comes to the conclusion that 'although even among the heathen second marriages for women were considered something unbecoming . . . yet the remarriage of a man, after the death of his wife, was held to be entirely unassailable, and no trace of the contrary opinion is to be found' (in Meyer's *Kommentar* on 1 Tim. iii. 2, ed. 3, p. 143). He assigns the prejudice against such marriages to post-Apostolic times, and remarks that many patristic commentators, even when custom had decided against any clerical remarriage, keep to the interpretation that it is a prohibition of practical polygamy or remarriage after divorce. He cites in particular Theodoret, Theophylact, Jerome and Oecumenius (p. 143). See also Jerome's letter to Oceanus, *Ep.* 69.

to be present to the mind of St. Paul, deeply imbued as he was with the spirit of the Old Testament, as to one of ourselves, to whom a perception of the great blessings that flow from clerical marriage is one of the commonest experiences of our social life. For the union between Jehovah and Israel was represented by marriage to the Rabbinical Jew just as it is to the Christian. Jewish marriage had an almost sacramental character and was held to convey forgiveness of sins.[11] It was a maxim of the Talmud, 'Any Jew who has not a wife is no man.' Nor could it be without meaning to a Christian that God chose a household in which there were at least seven children to be the home of His Incarnate Son. Further, if those scholars are right who hold that they were children of St. Joseph by a former marriage, and that the Blessed Virgin Mary was his second wife,[12] there was yet another reason for thinking highly of the married state as blessed by God in contradiction to the prejudice which soon grew up in Christendom against second marriages. Nor was it without obvious significance that our Lord chose a marriage feast as the scene of His first miracle, the keynote of His whole Ministry.

The only tendency to the contrary which we

[11] See Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. p. 352 foll., and Lightfoot, *Colossians* ('The Essenes'), p. 139, ed. 1, 1875.

[12] See Lightfoot on 'The Brethren of the Lord' in his commentary on *Galatians*. This is what he calls the Epiphanian theory. The subject has lately been reopened by Zahn, *Forschungen*, vol. vi., with his usual laborious minuteness. He is in favour of the view, which has generally been rejected by Anglican theologians (*e.g.* Bp. Pearson), that the other children were younger sons and daughters of St. Mary.

know of in the Apostolic age comes from the sect of the Essenes, who are said, not by Josephus but by Philo, to have rejected the use of marriage. Bishop Lightfoot [13] has shown the probability that this sect was influenced by Eastern, perhaps Persian, mysticism. At any rate, most of the distinctive features of Essenism are non-Christian where they are not anti-Christian; and their asceticism in particular was probably founded on a false principle, that of the malignity of matter. There is evidence, however, in apocryphal literature of an early intrusion of Essene ideas into Christian circles, and we may trace to this source much of the severity which even in the second century distorted the Christianity of the Gospels and of the other books of the New Testament.

We cannot of course be surprised at the intensity of Christian feeling on the subject of the relation of the sexes; for there is no matter of conduct on which the heathen world was, and probably at this moment is, for the most part, more utterly at variance with true religion. Among the Greeks and Romans before the birth of Christ unchastity, on the part especially of men, even of an abominable kind, was counted all but indifferent. It might be unbecoming and unphilosophic, but it was hardly sinful. And in the generations which immediately followed the Incarnation while from time to time partial reforms were attempted by the State, they seem in many

[13] See his esssay 'The Essenes' in his commentary on the *Colossians*, esp. pp 136 (Clementines), 139 (Marriage), 149 (Parsism), 164 (Hemerobaptists), 168 (St James etc.).

cases rather to have led to evasion than to improvement. The old strict marriage of ancient Rome fell into disuse, and a relation terminable at the will of either party took its place. Some women of position might be said to number their years by the names of their fresh husbands, not by those of the consuls, and Juvenal speaks of one who had eight in five autumns.[14] When the examples of the old gods ceased to be practically operative, the misconduct of living deified emperors was even more glaringly provocative to evil, at any rate down to and including the time of Hadrian. Marcus Aurelius in his own person set a noble example, but his empress was a byword of immorality, and he stood very much alone in the imperial household in his Stoic self-discipline. Heathenism, however, in the second century began generally to admire many ascetic practices, partly in Christianity, partly in Judaism, partly in other Eastern sects which were not Christian; and a sort of combination of ideals was brought about which was often by no means advantageous to character. The Essenes of whom I have spoken, and the Encratites, of whom Tatian, the scholar of Justin, was the most important, together with the Marcionites, who may perhaps be classed with them, on one side, and the Montanists of Phrygia (who captured the great African teacher Tertullian) on the other side, were all led away by

[14] See A. Rossbach, *Römische Ehe*, pp. 42–58, *Die Ehe ohne Manus* (Stuttgart, 1853), and J. Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, i. pp. 61–78 (Leipz. 1879). The passages referred to are Seneca, *De Ben.* 3, 16, and Juvenal, vi. 224 foll.

false ideas largely adopted from the outside.[15] While their dogmatic heresies were rejected, the moral poison of their teaching was often absorbed. It is therefore not surprising that the tendency to regard celibacy as essential to the highest life and as almost necessary to the clergy should be traceable to the third century. The earliest definite claim upon them in this respect is in the probably Asian 'Apostolic Church Order' (*circa* A.D. 300: see above, p. 35), which says in regard to a Bishop: 'It is good that he should be a celibate, but, if not, one who has only had one wife'—thus glossing St. Paul's words as if they implied that the relation was over. But other indications also show that pressure was being put upon the clergy either to contract their freedom to marry or to abstain after ordination from the society of their wives.[16] The latter unnatural restriction led to the

[15] Bocquet's book illustrates this topic in both its parts. Stobaeus's collections (*Flor.* 74) of Γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα, *e.g.* those from Naucratius and Theano, are specially interesting. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* iii. 7, pp. 537-9, gives some interesting examples of heathen asceticism, which he adduces to show that the tendency cannot be held to be absolutely Christian. He mentions the Brahmans, as abstaining from flesh and wine, and the Σεμνοί—probably = the Σαρμᾶναι or Sramanas (Buddhist ascetics), of whom he speaks in *Strom.* i. 15, p. 359, q.v.—or Gymnosophists, as abstaining from marriage. His criticism of the Encratites is naturally enlightened. Clement does not refer to the Egyptian recluses of the Serapeum, with whom he must have certainly been familiar. Their position in recent years has often been described as a precedent for Egyptian monachism; but the probability is that their lives were in no real sense ascetic. See, however, Butler's *Lausiac Hist.* p. 229.

[16] *Apost. Ch. O.* 16, καλὸν μὲν εἶναι ἀγύναιος, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀπὸ μιᾶς γυναικός. The Coptic and Ethiopic soften it: 'If he have married a wife having children, let him abide with her;' but the meaning of

introduction of an unnatural relation between the sexes, calling itself spiritual or at any rate innocent or brotherly and sisterly. This has been one of the most dangerous snares and abiding shadows about and upon the life of professedly celibate clergy. The 'agapetarum pestis,'[17] as it is called by St. Jerome, can be traced in theory to the times of Hermas,[18] about

the Greek (ἀπό) is clear, and this seems to be also the idea of the Syriac version of St. Paul, 'qui fuerit.' As regards indications of pressure, the wicked act attributed by St. Cyprian (*Ep.* 52) to Novatus may have been due to fear on his part of loss of reputation if his wife became a mother. The author of the *Refutation of Heresies*, ix. 12, treats it as one of the sins of Callistus that in his time (216–222) men who had married twice or thrice were ordained Presbyters and Deacons, and that clergy were permitted to marry after ordination. Single cases of such marriage after ordination are hardly recorded in history: that of Eupsychius of Cappadocia, mentioned by Jewel, being apparently a confusion of two persons. That they existed, however, is clearly to be inferred from laws against the practice, the first being Neo-Caesarea, *circa* A.D. 315. Cp. that of Ancyra, 10, giving Deacons leave to give notice, and Leo the Philosopher, *Const.* 3. On the latter see below, p. 226.

[17] St. Jerome, *Ep.* 22, *ad Eustochium*, 14. This letter forms a sort of treatise on the life of Christian Virgins, as *Ep.* 52, *ad Nepotianum*, does on the life of Clergy and monks, and *Ep.* 127, *ad Principiam*, on the life of Marcella, a noble widow. *Ep.* 69, *ad Oceanum*, gives a rather more reasonable view of clerical marriage. But generally Jerome's rhetoric is on the other side.

[18] See the articles 'Subintroductae' in *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, and Kraus, *Realencykl.*, esp. the former. The basis of the idea may be found in the interpretation generally given to 1 Cor. ix. 5, about the 'sisters' who accompanied the Apostles in their journeys. The R.V. renders 'a wife that is a believer,' but see Bp. Chr. Wordsworth's note *ad loc.* St. Clement supposes that they were wives, but that they were not treated as such (*οὐχ ὡς γαμετὰς ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδελφὰς περιῆγον τὰς γυναῖκας, Strom.* iii. 6, p. 192 Sylb.). Closer and more dangerous association is suggested by Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 11, where he represents the Virgins as saying to him in a vision, *μεθ' ἡμῶν κοιμηθήσῃ ὡς*

the middle of the second century; and it is described in one of St. Cyprian's letters, who dealt with it with strength and good sense.[19] It has never ceased openly or secretly, under one name or another, to plague the Western Church; and it can only be abolished by a restoration of the clergy of the Roman communion to their proper social freedom and position.

ἀδελφός, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἀνήρ. Cp. *Vis.* ii. 2. See the word *Soror* in Ducange for later instances, and next note.

[19] Tertullian, *Exhort. Cast.* 12, advised widowers to take a 'spiritual wife'—a poor aged widow. But such associations became a great scandal in the African Church *circa* A.D. 249: see Cyprian, *Ep.* 4 *Pomponio.* the persons concerned being 'virgins,' not 'widows' of the Church. He remarks 'Si autem perseverare nolunt vel non possunt, melius est ut nubant.' Such association was charged against Paul of Samosata at Antioch (Eus. *H. E.* vii. 30), and it much troubled St. Chrysostom (sermons 12 and 13, i. pp. 279 foll. and 304 foll., *circa* A.D. 398). Many canons discuss who may and who may not live in the same house as the clergy from *Nice* 3 onwards. Theodulf of Orleans, A.D. 797, desired that no woman of any kind should live with a clerk, for, though a mother or sister might be without suspicion, their visitors might be a source of temptation. Similar strictness for sadder reasons was commanded by the Councils of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 837, c. 11, Metz, c. 5, and Mainz, c. 10, both A.D. 888. Cp. Thomassin, I. ii. ch. 64, §§ 2 and 4. There is a good paper 'On the *consortia* of the first order of Irish saints,' by Rev. T. Olden, in *Proc. of R. Irish Academy*, 3rd series, vol. iii. pp. 415–420, 1894. The word used in Ireland was 'sister,' and this has, it seems, often misled Irish historians. It is remarkable that the name 'sister' for a priest's wife seems to have long remained in England: see the note in Lyndwood. *Provinc.* on *Const. Othon.* 16, p. 44, ed. Oxon.: 'Immo clerici huiusmodi concubinas tenent communiter apparatu honesto, nomine appellationis sororiae. *C. de epis. et cler. eum qui probabilem,*' i.e. *Cod. Just.* i. 3. 19, A.D. 420. See below, n. 22. The Western Roman Catholic clergy in modern times have, however, gained the freedom of having housekeepers or servants resident with them if they are 'advanced in years, and known for their modesty, prudence and blameless lives' (*Four Synods of Westminster*, p. 150, Stratford, 1886).

It may well seem strange that the warnings of experience should not have so reinforced the teaching of Scripture as to lead the Church back to a wiser and simpler discipline. There were indeed some important protests and examples, especially in the Greek Church. Such was that of Dionysius of Corinth addressed to Pinytus of Gnossus in Crete, who seems to have been disposed to push the rule of continence very widely (Eus. 'H. E.' iv. 23). There was, above all, the warning of Paphnutius the monk at the Council of Nicaea, which, together with the Canons of Gangra later in the century, has had the effect of keeping the great mass of the clergy of the Greek Church free from the yoke of enforced celibacy.[20] There was the example of the elder Gregory of Nazianzus, whose two sons, Gregory and Caesarius, were born after he became Bishop. There was the strong personality of Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais in Pentapolis, who refused to accept office (*circa* A.D. 410) unless he was allowed to retain his wife and expressed a hope that he might have 'a large number of virtuous children.'[21] There was the still

[20] Many Roman controversialists are apt to discredit the account given by the Church historians (Socrates, i. 11, and Sozomen, i. 23 etc.) of the language of Paphnutius, or to try and twist it into a different meaning. Their chief ground seems to be that Epiphanius and Jerome represent the East as well as the West as requiring or desiring celibacy. But this was much later in the century, and both of them were zealous partisans. Hefele, *Councils*, § 43, discusses the matter at some length, and defends the accuracy of the current narrative.

[21] There is a very full Life of Synesius by Rev. T. R. Halcomb, Fellow of Lincoln College, in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* The passage referred to is his letter to his brother Euoptius, *Ep.* 105. There is, says

more remarkable imperial law of Honorius and Theodosius II. in A.D. 420, which, while re-enacting the rule of Nicaea about extraneous women dwelling with clerks, urges, with a considerateness unfortunately then very rare towards the weaker sex, that those who were married lawfully should not be deserted, especially as their union with their husbands had made the latter worthy of advancement to the priesthood.[22]

The sensible line taken by the 'Apostolic Constitutions' (ii. 2) and by the 'Apostolic Canons' (6, cp. 40), which, as I have said, both emanate from Antioch, and at the very time when Jerome and Epiphanius were pressing celibacy as the teaching of the Church, is also to be noted. Nor must we forget that commentators on Scripture in general write in a different and a wiser way, and with a higher sense of responsibility, than even the same writers when they are in controversy with opponents or urging some theory or personal opinion in sermons and treatises. But as a rule the great writers of the fourth and fifth centuries pressed celibacy as the more excellent way

Mr. Halcomb, no evidence that any children were born to him subsequent to his elevation to the episcopate.

[22] *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 2, 44 = *Cod. Just.* i. 3, 19, 'eum qui probabilem.' The final words are as follows: 'Illas etiam non relinqui castitatis [caritatis?] hortatur affectio quae ante sacerdotium maritorum legitimum meruere coniugium. Neque enim clericis incompetenter adiunctae sunt quae dignos sacerdotio viros sui conversatione fecerunt.' This recognition that women may have a good influence upon the character of their husbands, and that their position deserves consideration, is unfortunately so rare as to stand almost alone both in the civil and ecclesiastical laws on this subject.

with an unfair and misleading emphasis which led to the gravest moral mischief and loss of power in the Church. St. Augustine, though he wrote well on the blessing of marriage, gave a new turn to the treatment of the subject by connecting the act of procreation with original sin, a notion apparently derived from his old Manichaean errors ('De Nupt. et Concup.' i. 24 etc.). His own early misconduct perhaps also warped his judgment.

In the East, where monachism was constantly felt to be an opposing and dangerous force and where the conversion of the people, though often superficial, was more general and genuine than elsewhere, the application of ascetic principles to the lives of the clergy was never carried so far as in the West. The legislation of Justinian was indeed adverse to the married clergy. He desired that childless men should be chosen as much as possible, under the pretence that they would be more generous to the poor ('C. J.' i. 3, 41 : A.D. 528). He also gave the force of civil law to the canons which forbade clergy to marry after their ordination (*ib.* 44 : A.D. 530) and to the rule that Bishops should not cohabit with their wives ; and he seems to have introduced a new rule making married Presbyters, who had children already, ineligible for the Episcopate (*ib.* 47 : A.D. 531). The canons, therefore, of the Trullan Council (A.D. 692) were rather a relaxation of the laws of Justinian than an extension of discipline. The thirteenth canon, which has ever since been the rule of the Greek Church, admits married men to the Diaconate or

Presbyterate, as it expressly says, contrary to the Roman tradition, and forbids requiring them to promise not to cohabit with their wives, quoting various texts of Scripture in support of the sanctity and lawfulness of marriage. It requires, however, from them and from Subdeacons a certain abstinence at the time of their sacred ministrations—which ministrations we may interpret to mean generally the Liturgy of Sunday. It ends by denouncing the penalty of deposition on any who should urge the separation of the married clergy. The forty-eighth canon, however, orders the separation (by mutual consent) of a Bishop from his wife, and requires her to go into a distant monastery, where she is to be supported by him and may become a Deaconess. No reason is given for this different treatment of a Bishop and a Presbyter. But there is little doubt that it was more or less customary from *circa* A.D. 400, though Synesius retained his wife; and married Bishops are implied in the 'Canons of Basil' 40–42, A.D. *c.* 450.

The result in the Eastern Churches has been to choose Bishops who in previous stages of their career have generally been under some monastic vow, though not necessarily members of a community. Widowers, however, are not excluded by law, and are occasionally chosen. The consequence has been, I imagine, to confine the highest offices of the Church to men of one-sided experience, and occasionally to promote to very high office men who are both timid and ignorant of the world. Nor does it appear that they have been generally less influenced by desire to

accumulate wealth or by personal ambition. The reason no doubt is that, where the affections are restrained, the other impulses of human nature are liable to exaggerated development; and ambition flourishes where self is the only care quite as much as when children have to be provided for.

I may mention, in conclusion of this summary of the legislation applicable to the Greek Church, two Constitutions of the Emperor Leo the Philosopher, A.D. 886–911. In the first he refers to the custom which then obtained that those who were ordained priests were allowed two years in which to marry, if they thought fit and if they were not already married; and abolishes it by returning to the older discipline (Const. 3, 'Ut qui Sacerdotes'). In the second (Const. 79, 'De poena Sacerdotis'), which is closely connected with the first, he reduces the penalty inflicted in case of marriages taking place after ordination, and permits those who have contracted them to remain in the ranks of the clergy but in a lower position.

My own experience is that it is usually wisest for a man to marry after ordination instead of before it; for his character alters so much with the new experience that he becomes sometimes almost a new man, and often feels the need of quite a different sort of help-meet from the one he would have chosen as a layman. Nor is it usually well for a man to marry long before he is thirty years of age. No doubt there are inconveniences the other way which are

obvious to all men, and freedom is far better than law in such matters. The Western Church (as Thomassinus remarks, I. ii. 61, 2) has made little or no difference in regard to marriage before or after ordination: and we must remember this in considering the exceptions to the general tendency to celibacy in the West which will be referred to later. The nullity of Priests' marriages was not formally asserted till the twelfth century.[23]

The course of legislation in the East has not been wholly satisfactory, but in the West it has been disastrous. The mischief began at the Council of Elvira in Spain, held in the period of eager and grateful devotion after the Diocletian persecution, A.D 306. The thirty-third canon of this Council ordered Bishops, Priests and Deacons to abstain from intercourse with their wives, who, it supposed, would still share the same home. This was of course a local canon; but towards the close of the century the rule was taken up by the Roman Church, which had hitherto been backward in the matter, in the person of Pope Siricius in his letter to a Spanish Bishop, Himerius of Tarragona—which has the ominous position of being the first of the genuine Decretals.[24] The date (A.D. 386) and authorship of this letter are to be noted. Monasticism had recently been propagated zealously at Rome under the teaching of St. Jerome, who resided there in the years 382–385 A.D., at first

[23] It is generally ascribed to the First Lateran Council, A.D. 1123, but Hefele traces it to earlier local Synods, § 612.

[24] It may be found in Labbe, *Conc.* ii. pp. 1017 foll., where the rule is chapter 7 of the letter. For its argument see below, p. 243.

as the confidential friend of Pope Damasus (who died in 384), and the director of several noble ladies, whom he persuaded to embrace the monastic life. Jerome had hoped to be elected Pope in place of Damasus, and retired from Rome to Palestine as a disappointed man. We shall not perhaps be wrong in attributing to Siricius the desire to show himself equally zealous and strict with the man who might have been in his place, and who was no doubt much superior to him in learning. A few years later the rule was extended to Africa in canon 2 passed at the Second Council of Carthage, held A.D. 389 or 390—though not without some slight ambiguity of phrase (*qui altario inserviunt*) which may have been interpreted to mean that the restriction applied to certain times or periods of ministration, as in the Trullan canon 13.

This rule as a whole was naturally resisted, being of the nature of a counsel rather than a law which could be enforced, and indeed being one of those irrational expedients which show the want of common sense observable in many celibates when they make laws for others. It was renewed by Innocent I. in 404, and again by Leo I. and extended by him to Subdeacons in A.D. 445 in a letter to Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica ('Ep.' 21, c. 4). This order about Subdeacons was naturally very hard to carry out, and we find Gregory I. not insisting upon it in provinces where it was not customary, and it became only very gradually an established rule.[25]

[25] The various rules about Subdeacons are given by Thomassinus *l.c.* 61, 63, 65 etc. As late as 1063 a Roman Council, by not

At some period which it is difficult precisely to define, but which Thomassinus fixes in the ninth century, the rule became established that the wives of the clergy on the Continent of Europe, as far as the Roman Church held sway, were no longer permitted to live in the same houses as their husbands (*l.c.* 64, 6).

By 'established' I do not of course mean that it was followed by the clergy or at all regularly enforced by the executive—but that it was understood to be a law of the Church which a man must break at his peril. There is a great mass of evidence to show that the rule of continence was not observed, though lawful marriage was not generally maintained.

The latter, however, was not so exceptional as is sometimes supposed. In Lombardy and North Italy the clergy married openly and legitimately, with ring and dower, at any rate up to the time of the fanatic attack upon their position, amounting to civil war, made in the time of Alexander II., in which Peter Damiani was one of the champions.[26] In Hungary

mentioning them in its third canon, seems to have left them free to marry. See above, pp. 181–2.

[26] Cp. the letter of Damiani blaming Cunibert, Bp. of Turin, *Ep.* iv. 3: 'permittis ut ecclesiae tuae clerici, cuiuscunque sunt ordinis, velut iure matrimonii confoederentur uxoribus.' The Milanese clergy attributed their freedom in this respect to St. Ambrose: see the authorities in Gieseler, E. T. ii. 436. Damiani's wild ravings against the wives of the married clergy make it possible to indulge a charitable conjecture that his other detestable charges against his brethren were equally over-coloured. Unfortunately, the colder evidence of the Penitential books, and even of such staid documents as the *Ordines Romani*, makes it clear that the clergy of the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, if not equally before and after that period, were liable to the foulest

as late as A.D. 1114 public dispensation was given to married Presbyters at the Council of Gran (Strigonium) to keep their wives.[27] In Sweden in the time of Innocent III. the clergy claimed to have a papal privilege to do so (Inn. III. 'Reg.' xvi. 118: A.D. 1213). In Switzerland the civil laws often protected priests and their wives and children, sometimes under payment of a tax, sometimes without it.[28] But, whatever may have been the case in other countries, I believe that at no time before the Reformation of the sixteenth century were the mass of the English clergy unmarried, though the position which their wives enjoyed was generally by no means an enviable one.

The attempts to enforce the rule of separation undertaken in consequence of the decree of the Roman Synod under Gregory VII., in 1074, have made an impression upon the minds of men because of the strong character of that Pope and the hazardous counsels, addressed to the laity, with which he accompanied the rule. Similar attempts had been

suspicions. How much of this degeneracy was owing to the slight cast on marriage, and the low position thereby assigned to women, is not easy to conclude. English historians of the twelfth century certainly thought Gregory's and Anselm's legislation the fruitful parent of vice. Thomassinus himself refers to these criticisms, *l.c.* 65, 5.

[27] See Hefele, *Conc.* § 606; Hardwick, *Ch. Hist.* p. 260: 'Presbyteris uxores, quas legitimis ordinibus acceperint, moderatius habendas, praevisa fragilitate, indulsimus,' canon 31.

[28] See Theiner, *l.c.* iii. p. 27, quoting a number of cases, and especially one of the Town Council of Zurich, which assured the Canons of the Cathedral that their wills in favour of their children should be respected. This appears to be in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

made indeed earlier in the eleventh century, but Gregory's hand stretched further than his predecessors' and on the other side public opinion was beginning to make itself felt more freely after the time of the Norman Conquest. The full terms of Gregory's decree have not come down to us ; but the laity were certainly incited to shun the sacraments ministered by the married clergy in language which suggested the error that sacraments depend for their validity upon the personal character of their ministers.[29] The decree was also obnoxious because it was addressed directly to the laity subject to other Bishops, thus anticipating the Vatican Decree of 1870 about the immediate Episcopal power of the Papacy. The results in the way of riot, profaneness, violence and detention of tithes on the part of the (Continental) laity are said to have startled even its author.[30]

[29] The following portion of it is quoted by Gerhohus of Reichsberg, *On Psalm x.* (Migne, *P. L.* 148, p. 786, and 193, p. 794) : 'Si qui sunt presbyteri vel diaconi vel subdiaconi qui in crimine fornicationis iaceant interdicimus eis ex Dei parte omnipotentis et sanct Petri auctoritate introitum usque dum poeniteant et emendent. Si qui vero in peccato suo perseverare maluerint, nullus vestrum eorum audire praesumat officium, quia benedictio eorum vertitur in maledictionem et oratio in peccatum, Domino testante per prophetam : Maledicam, inquit, benedictionibus vestris. Qui vero huic saluberrimo praecepto obedire noluerint idololatriae peccatum incurrunt, Samuele teste et beato Gregorio instruente : Peccatum ariolandi est non obedire et scelus idololatriae nolle acquiescere. Peccatum igitur paganitatis incurrit quisquis dum Christianum se asserit, sedi apostolicae obedire contemnit.' The apologist of Gregory, Bernaldus, admits that this decree condemns all those who hear the Masses of incontinent priests as partakers in their excommunication, and guilty of the sin of idolatry (*P. L.* 148, p. 773).

[30] See the quotation in Milman, *L. Chr.* iv. 32, note : 'referre

That one object of this decree was a financial one was publicly and no doubt truly asserted: 'Causa legis est ne ecclesiarum opes collectae per sacerdotum matrimonia et liberos rursus diffluerent.'[31] I shall say something on this point later on (p. 246). Those who thought that what was really needed was to prevent alienation of Church property, were no doubt satisfied to leave the unfortunate clergy in a state which was considered to be one of sin, provided their more unfortunate partners and their children did not grow rich.

The decree of Gregory was not, however, at once promulgated in this country. On the contrary, both William and Lanfranc were unwilling to yield too much to papal demands and between them laid the foundation of the freedom of the Church of England on the lines which have ever since subsisted. The decrees passed at the Council of Winchester in A.D. 1076[32] forbade canons to have wives, but permitted clergy in villages and country towns to retain theirs, only

solitus erat, quod tam crudelia et gravia nunquam in presbyteros fieri mandavisset' etc.

[31] Milman, *L. C.* iv. 19, attributing the words to the Synod of Worms, but I have been unable to find the reference. Cp. Von Wessenberg, *Kirchenversammlungen*, i. p. 337, note 16, where the reference is apparently wrong.

Dr. Nippold (Theiner, iii. p. 392 n.) quotes Dr. von Schulte and Professor Reusch as agreeing that 'the execution and maintenance of the law of celibacy since Gregory VII. is due to hierarchical interest.' Cp. the striking quotation from Cardinal Pallavicini, speaking before Pius VII. in 1782 (*ib.* p. 373).

[32] See Abp. M. Parker, *De Ant. Eccl. Brit.*, ed. Lond. p. 173, quoted in Wilkins, *Conc.* i. 367 and elsewhere, and E. A. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv. 422 foll. ed. 2, 1876.

requiring that in future a profession of remaining unmarried should be exacted from candidates for ordination. At the same time it made the blessing of a priest part of legitimate marriage—an important law for the whole country.

The Roman policy was, however, adopted by Anselm in his two Synods at London in 1102 and 1108, the second of which was wholly occupied with this question and went further than was customary in this country. Among other significant regulations it required Archdeacons to take an oath that they would not receive money for connivance at evasion of this statute—obviously pointing to their common custom. Yet only in the previous year Anselm had received a letter from Pope Paschal II. (30 May 1107) —no doubt at his own request—permitting him to dispense with the law against the sons of clergy being promoted, on the ground that 'in England there is so large a number of them that almost the greater and the better half of the clergy are to be reckoned under this head.' Another law against 'foeminarum contubernia' was passed in the time of Abp. William de Corbeuil in 1126 [33] and a sharper one in 1128. But King Henry I. undertook to see it executed, and (it is said) made money by granting exemptions from it. In a Synod at Westminster under Stephen in 1138 the legate Alberic passed a canon depriving all married or concubinary clergy, but this was probably a

[33] This was the Council at which the legate John of Crema presided, whose own conduct brought great scandal on the Church, as our historians relate.

generality expected of such a functionary, not accepted as a law of the land.

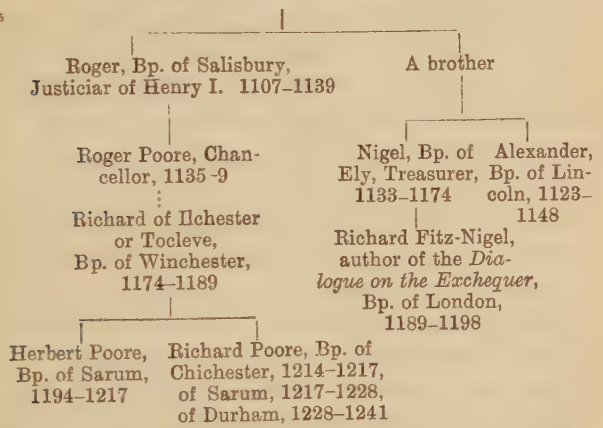
For in the troubled time that followed neither party was strong enough to be ready to alienate any important group of adherents, and the married clergy seem to have had rest for something like sixty years. When these decrees of Synods were renewed in the Council of London in A.D. 1200 it was in obedience to the Lateran Synod of 1179. A similar decree was passed by Stephen Langton in 1222, the wording of which may be given, as it seems to show that ecclesiastical authority was now content in this country with attempting to avoid public scandal : 'Ne clerici beneficiati vel in sacris ordinibus constituti in hospitiis suis publice concubinas tenere praesumant, nec alibi cum scandalo publicum accessum habeant ad easdem.' Lyndwood's gloss on this clearly shows that the words 'publice' and 'cum scandalo publicum accessum habeant' were emphasised by those who evaded the law, though he does not admit the argument drawn from them. Nevertheless, on comparing the words of this canon with those of other canons I am convinced that they were intended to form a loophole for evasion.[34]

From this time, at any rate, the wives of the clergy were, as far as ecclesiastical law went, in the painful position of being unrecognised. The faculty given to Anselm for the promotion of their sons was no doubt a personal one and came to an end with his life, and the Papacy acquired power by keeping its hand upon such dispensations, and sometimes withheld

[34] See Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, lib. iii. t. 2, pp. 126–7.

them arbitrarily or from motives of policy or covetousness.

But clerical families of distinction certainly existed in this country, particularly in the Anglo-Norman period. One particularly interesting case is that of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury,[35] who was persumably the direct ancestor of Richard of Ilchester or Tocleve, Bishop of Winchester, father of Herbert and Richard Poore, both bishops of Sarum and the latter afterwards


Roger, Bp. of Salisbury, Justiciar of Henry I. 1107–1139
A brother
Roger Poore, Chancellor, 1135–9
Richard of Ilchester or Tocleve, Bp. of Winchester, 1174–1189
Nigel, Bp. of Ely, Treasurer, 1133–1174
Alexander, Bp. of Lincoln, 1123–1148
Richard Fitz-Nigel, author of the *Dialogue on the Exchequer*, Bp. of London, 1189–1198
Herbert Poore, Bp. of Sarum, 1194–1217
Richard Poore, Bp. of Chichester, 1214–1217, of Sarum, 1217–1228, of Durham, 1228–1241

[35] I owe this information mainly to the late Bishop (Stubbs) of Oxford. Cp. W. H. Rich Jones, *Register of St. Osmund* in Rolls Series, ii. p. xli. ed. 1884. Richard of London may have been born while Nigel was Bishop. Other instances may be found in Wharton, *Cl. Celibacy*, p. 158. The case of Boniface of Savoy, Abp. of Cant. A.D. 1245–70, is not made out, cp. Hook, *Abps.* iii. 230; but the fact of his marriage is asserted by Abp. Parker, quoted by Wharton on Burnet, p. 80. At Lichfield Robert Peche, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry († 1127), chaplain to Henry I., had a son, Archdeacon of Coventry, who became Bishop of the same see, 1162–1182. At Wells Robert Burnell (1275–1292) probably had a large family: see Stubbs, *C. H.* iii. 373, c. xix. § 729—an important section. Cp. Wilkins, *Conc.* ii. 40.

of Durham. Nigel, Bishop of Ely, was nephew of the same Roger and father of Richard, Bishop of London. It is probable that most of these sons were born during the early part of their fathers' lives, when, *e.g.*, they had held the offices of archdeacon and the like, but in any case their descent was not considered otherwise than reputable.

It would be easy to multiply evidence for the continuance of a practically married clergy in this country up to the time of the Reformation. Sometimes, I believe, they were privately but still legally married, so that their wives and children might have the benefit of their property after their deaths. For all marriages properly performed in England were valid according to civil law, unless they were voided by action in the Bishop's court, up to the passing of Lord Lyndhurst's Act in 1835 (5 & 6 William IV. c. 54), however much they might be contrary to law. In other cases the parties lived faithfully together without marriage; as Archbishop Parker says, '*Affectu sororio, amore uxorio, et fide coniugali*, as they use the Tearmes' (Wharton on Burnet, p. 80). There is, I believe, little evidence that they were disturbed in this relation by the executive, even after a Statute of 1 Henry VII. chap. 4 (A.D. 1485) gave Ordinaries with Episcopal jurisdiction power to punish incontinent clerks and religious men with imprisonment. If they behaved otherwise well and did not quarrel with their flocks—and, we may presume, paid the customary contribution to the Archdeacon or the fine if they were presented at visitations—they

were generally let alone,[36] or admonished without further punishment.

In Wales the marriage of the clergy was even more customary, and it probably continued, with very little interruption, up to the Reformation. The description of the family life of the Canons of St. Davids by Giraldus Cambrensis, *circa* A.D. 1215, is well known (Lea, p. 285). Intermarriages between clerical families and the inheritance of benefices became apparently tribal, if not national, customs. The Norman Bishops sometimes fought against them, with little success; but generally they seem to have been content with making money in the way of fines. Archbishop Peckham, in 1284, in writing to the Diocese of St. Asaph, before his Visitation, says, 'Incontinentiae vitium clerum vestrum ab antiquo maculasse dignoscitur enormiter ultra modum' (H. and S. i. 563); and in writing to St. Davids he remarks on the report that corrections were generally made by way of fines, and desires that deprivation should be substituted in case of incontinence (*ibid.* p. 572). In the *Black Book of St. Davids*,

[36] See Lea, p. 293. Cp. the remarkable letter of Erasmus to the Bishop of Basel, quoted by Theiner, iii. 160. The quotation given by Lea, p. 447, from Cranmer's *Confutation of Unwritten Verities* (*Works*, iv. 194, Oxf. 1833) is not from Cranmer's own pen, but that of his translator, E. P. The cases in Archdeacon Hale's *Precedents in Criminal Causes*, nos. 25, 52, 178, 211, 261, 303, 362, 369, 375, 381, 393, are generally of misconduct with several women, adultery etc. Nos. 25 and 393—in 1482 and 1544—are the only cases in point, and nothing is said as to punishment. Wharton, in the notes to Cranmer, *l.c.*, says, however, that Dr. Weston was deprived of the Deanery of Windsor for a single act of incontinence.

which dates apparently from A.D. 1326, and which is a survey of the lands and rents of the Bishop, there is frequent evidence of the existence of clerical families. This is particularly the case in regard to lands held on the Welsh system of 'gwele,' under which several stocks (usually three) had common rights descending from father to son.[37] In the same Diocese, in the middle of the fifteenth century, Bishop De la Bere made a regular income from fines levied on such clergy (1447–1460).[38] In Archbishop Warham's visitations (1504) more than eighty clergy were presented for incontinence in the Dioceses of Bangor and St. Davids,[39] and threatened with penalties if they did not dissolve their connections.

Nevertheless, if a letter of Erasmus to Warham, dated in 1518, is genuine, the Archbishop had then a wife and several children.[40] This inconsistency would, however, be no more remarkable than that of Wolsey, who left behind him a son and daughter, and was, in other respects, considered a man of loose

[37] See the *Introduction*, pp. xlvii–l, by J. W. Willis Bund; *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, no. 5, 1902.

[38] The accounts of his relation to the married clergy given by Archdeacon Bevan, *Diocesan H. of St. Davids*, p. 152 (S.P.C.K.), and J. W. Willis Bund, *Celtic Ch. in Wales*, p. 296–7, are not very easy to reconcile, but the fact above stated seems clear.

[39] Gibson, *Codex*, p. 438, from Warham MS. Register, fol. 222, 227 etc. I have verified the references. Both Visitations were performed by his deputies, that of Bangor by Dr. Agard, who seems to have been more in earnest than the Visitor at St. Davids, who was precentor of that Church.

[40] Erasmus *Opera*, iii. 1695: 'Bene vale cum dulcissima coniugali liberisque dulcissimis.' 'Coniugalis' (see Ducange) is rare as a substantive, and seems to be intentionally used by Erasmus as expressing the somewhat peculiar relation.

character, but who visited his Diocese in the year in question (1518) and re-enacted the ancient canons against concubinage (Wilkins, iii. 669, 678). The assertion of the legality of clerical marriage was being made about the same time in Germany, and this, no doubt, influenced this country. Cranmer's first marriage took place in 1523, a year in which several public unions of the same kind were contracted in Germany.[41] Luther's own marriage took place in 1525, and this, though not approved by all his followers, produced a great sensation wherever the principles of the Reformation were making themselves felt. Cranmer's second marriage, to the niece of Osiander, took place in 1532, shortly before he became Archbishop. Thus there were no doubt a certain number who took advantage of dispensations to marry, obtained from Cranmer under the general Act of 27 Hen. VIII. (A.D. 1535–6) which gave the Archbishop full power to grant dispensations 'in matters not repugnant to the holy Scriptures or laws of God.' Three years later the King issued indeed a proclamation against clerical marriages, but did not pretend to dissolve those existing.[42] The reactionary legislation towards the close of his reign, A.D. 1539, made it, however, felony for a Priest to keep company with his wife, and imposed forfeiture of goods and chattels, to be followed if necessary by

[41] See Lea, *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, ed. 2, p. 424.

[42] See the quotations in [H. Wharton] *Specimen of some Errors* etc., p. 80 foll. Wilkins's dates for the matter taken from this book, *Conc.* iii. 696–7, are strangely erroneous. The date of the Convocation is 1548.

imprisonment, on any one living with a concubine. This severity was moderated in the next year, but heavy penalties still remained up to the time of Edward VI., when all such legislation was repealed, the first Act on the subject being in the year 1548.

The old law was revived under Queen Mary in 1553, and, strange to say, was not definitely abrogated by Parliament under Queen Elizabeth, who was averse from the marriage of the clergy, though she ratified the book of Articles which permitted it. It was not in fact till the beginning of the reign of James I. that the law of the State was brought into thorough harmony with the 32nd Article ratified by the Crown in 1571.

At the Council of Trent strenuous attempts were made by the Emperors Ferdinand and Maximilian, the Dukes of Bavaria and Cleves and others, to obtain a dispensation at any rate for the clergy of the German empire.[43] These attempts, and others made after the Council was over, were frustrated by the action of Pope Pius IV., yielding apparently to the

[43] See P. Sarpi's *Hist. du Concile de Trente*, ed. Courayer (Amst. 1736), ii. pp. 502 foll. He refers to the hierarchical reasons as being felt strongly in the Council (p. 506), and as his critic, Pallavicini, does not contradict him on this point (*Hist. Conc. Trid.* xxiv. 12, 9), we may conclude that he was correct. The letters of the Emperors etc. may be found in Le Plat's *Monumenta*, vi. 310, 312, 331, 333.

The section in Von Wessenberg, *Die grossen Kirchenversammlungen des* 15ten *und* 16ten *Jahrhunderts*, iv. 99 foll. (Constanz, 1840), is very clear and helpful. As this book is not generally known in England, I venture to recommend it to my readers. It is by a precursor of the Old Catholics. As it is not very well printed the references need careful verification.

influence of King Philip II. of Spain. Pius himself is described by his biographer as 'in voluptates pronus.'[44] The main fear, no doubt, was lest the clergy, in becoming legally married, should think more of citizenship and nationality than of the interests of the Church. Since that time the canon of Trent is valid in the Western Church, wherever the Council has been received, and there seems little probability of its being formally repudiated. But the broad doctrine of papal dispensations would probably make it possible for a reforming Pope to

[44] Onuphrius Panvinius (whose Lives are printed after those of Platina), *De Vitis Pont. Rom.* (Coloniae, 1626), p. 427 etc. On his action in refusing, see Lea, pp. 544–5. The canon of Trent is as follows (Sess. xxiv. *De Sacr. Mat.* can. 9): 'Si quis dixerit clericos in sacris ordinibus constitutos vel regulares castitatem solenniter professos posse matrimonium contrahere, contractumque validum esse non obstante lege ecclesiastica vel voto; et oppositum nil aliud esse quam damnare matrimonium posseque omnes contrahere matrimonium qui non sentiunt se castitatis, etiam si eam voverint, habere donum: anathema sit; quum Deus id recte petentibus non deneget nec patiatur nos supra id quod possumus tentari.' The reference to 1 Cor. x. 13 is misleading. St. Paul is speaking of trials *arranged by God*: the words ποιήσει σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν imply this, and therefore there is no promise to self-chosen temptations, much less any justification for a Church which leads men into temptation by its presumption. The canon itself (as Chemnitz observes) 'rightly' puts in the words 'recte petentibus.' But no one can ask rightly without the command and promise of God. And there is no such command or promise; rather the command is to marry, if you have not the gift of continence. See *Examen Conc. Trid.* pt. iii. p. 23, ed. 1574. On the next page are some sensible words as to judging whether a man has the gift or not. Lea, *S. C.* ed. 2, p. 640, argues that the canon of Trent is on a matter of faith, and therefore irreformable: but the words 'non obstante lege ecclesiastica vel voto' seem to give a loophole for argument on the other

introduce a change piecemeal, if not by a single general act of prerogative. It is not necessary for me to cite instances of the attempts that have been made from time to time to obtain such relief. I will only hazard a prophecy that something of the kind will be found necessary for the stability of the Roman Communion before the twentieth century has run its course.

If we seek to account for this movement in the Latin Church, we shall have to take note of two currents of feeling and argument, one of sentiment and duty and one of expediency. Sentiment has proceeded upon the general principle of monasticism, that the highest life ought to be lived by those who desire to be most like their Lord. In appeals to the clergy it has extolled the nobility of a life detached from worldly cares, which determines once for all to make the sacrifice of all that most men count dearest for the sake of the Gospel. It has also been closely connected with veneration for the Virgin Mother of the Lord, who has sometimes received even greater honour than her Divine Son at the hands of an impassioned devotion. Appeal has also been made very frequently—and this was perhaps the standing argument of the earlier controversialists—to the Jewish rules of uncleanness and of the temporary abstinence imposed upon the priesthood during its time of service. Reference was also made to a text of St. Paul (1 Cor. vii. 5) recommending occasional abstinence. Christian priests, it was argued have a

perpetual service, and are called to be always ready to offer the sacrifice of prayer and of the Eucharist, and ought therefore to be always abstinent. These rules, indeed, if pressed, would, as wiser men said, bring back the burden of the Levitical law upon the laity as well as on the clergy. They would also make it necessary for all clergy to be total abstainers from wine or strong drink. It is a perverse exegesis of Origen's which has twisted St. Paul's recognition of the value of occasional abstinence into a lifelong rule of continence, or into a suggestion that the lawful intercourse of man and wife unfits either or both of them for prayer. This and the inferences drawn from the Levitical law were the basis of Siricius's Decretal and of Jerome's arguments against Jovinian, and influenced the Greeks at the Trullan Council. Such arguments, though less common nowadays, are still part of the Roman case.[45]

[45] It is clear that the question of the obligation of these Jewish laws upon Christians was raised very early, no doubt in countries where Jewish converts were a part of the Church, and were attacked by those whom they had left. It was therefore dealt with in the *lost Church Order*, e.g. in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, xxvii. 242, where we read the wise words: 'Qui autem alligati sunt matrimonio quandocunque a latere uxoris surgere velint, orent. Coniugium enim non maculat.' Origen, *Hom. in Num.* xxiii. 3 (De la Rue, ii. 354) argues that the perpetual Christian sacrifice of prayer can only be offered by those who have vowed perpetual chastity. Cp. Jewel, *Def. of Apol.* P. S. 3, p. 397. Siricius specially dwells on the separation of Levitical priests from their homes (St. Luke i. 23, 24). Jerome, *Adv. Iovin.* i. 34, starting from Origen's gloss on St. Paul, writes as follows: 'Si laicus et quicunque fidelis orare non potest nisi careat officio coniugali, sacerdoti, cui semper pro populo offerenda sunt sacrificia, semper orandum est. Si semper orandum est ergo semper carendum matrimonio. Nam et in veteri

There can, however, be little doubt that had this been the whole case in favour of the compulsory celibacy of the clergy, common sense and experience would have triumphed over sentiment and have freed the Western clergy, as it in a great measure freed those of the East, from making an impossible attempt to stifle the instincts of humanity. But in the West there was no constant control from the imperial power to keep the ambitions of the Papacy in check, as the Byzantine empire controlled the prelates of the Eastern Church. It was possible for Roman politicians to imagine a condition of ecclesiastical rule so broad as to be described with pardonable exaggeration as world-wide, in which the Church should have a separate and not only an independent but a superior power. But in order to attain this result the clergy must be free from the ties of citizenship and kindred and be animated by a united corporate spirit. The Pope must be able to move them as a devoted army at his own will. His ambition was not merely personal, of course, but included an ambition in which

lege qui pro populo hostias offerebant, non solum in domibus suis non erant, sed purificabantur ad tempus ab uxoribus separati et vinum et sicera non bibebant quae solent ad libidinem provocare.' The discussion in *Apost. Const.* vi. 26–30 takes just the other line, the abolition of these ceremonial laws. Cp. the shorter treatment of the Syriac *Didascalia*. The laws to which I refer are Lev. x. 9 as to wine, and xv. 16–18 compared with xxii. 1 foll. as to other causes of uncleanness. Innocent III., in his second sermon at the Fourth Lateran Council, specially relied on the text 1 Sam. xxi. 4: 'Si mundi sunt pueri, maxime a mulieribus, manducent.' Ap. Labbe, *Conc.* xi. 138. Modern Roman theologians do not press Lev. xv. 18 at all severely against lay communicants. See, *e.g.*, Liguori, *Th. Mor.* § 271 foll. and *Rituale Parisiense*, 'De Sacr. Euch.' § 44.

the meanest clerk might feel that he had a share. The Church must govern the world by setting itself above the world, morally and practically as well as spiritually. This, I imagine, was the ambition of the great Popes, such as Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, Gregory VII. and Innocent III. The smaller souls in their great place thought more of their own personal or official prerogative, and considered celibacy as a means of discipline: and such indeed it is. An unmarried clergy are much more easily governed than those who have all the social force which accrues to them from intermarriage with lay families and the presence of their sons and daughters in every walk and occupation of life. Members of an unmarried clergy can be removed at pleasure from place to place, they can be silenced, imprisoned, banished, expelled, deprived, degraded or excommunicated, with scarcely a ruffle on the face of society. What has become of the nine thousand clergy who followed Passaglia in his attempt to reconcile the Papacy and the Kingdom of Italy by urging Pope Pius IX. to surrender the doctrine of the temporal power? Had they been married men with families they could not have been silenced as they were.

No doubt this moveability has its good side also. Unmarried clergy are much more easy to provide for and are less exacting; and this has often been put forward, with a certain degree of justice, as a point in favour of the Roman Church in regard to its foreign

missions. Its clergy need less, and can prosecute their work with less interruption. They are ready to die at their posts. Yet even as regards such missions the advantage is not by any means all on one side. Roman missions are often very superficial in their influence, and do not strike their roots deep into the life of the people. The missionaries and their flocks are often in the relation too much of governors and governed. And celibacy, being exacted from the European clergy, must be exacted also from any natives who are advanced to the priesthood. The consequence is that in some places a native ministry cannot be created at all. In other cases, as in some South American missions, the clergy have fallen to a very low level, associating with natives in a way to bring their office into deserved and lasting contempt.[46]

Another and even stronger practical argument for celibacy in the middle ages was the danger felt lest the benefices of the married clergy should become feudal tenures descending from father to son, and the Church thereby lose both its elasticity and its spirituality. This real danger led to the reasonable laws that clergy should not succeed their fathers in their churches, especially immediately. I presume that this was one reason why our own Richard Poore, though elected Bishop of Winchester in 1205, was not permitted by the Pope, Innocent III., to receive consecration to that see. He received, however, a general dispensation in the next year (19 Kal. Feb.) to receive

[46] See Theiner, iii. 356 foll., and cp. Lea, 533–6.

promotion notwithstanding his illegitimacy, and was consecrated to Chichester in 1215. We know something of the results of unchecked private patronage and of the dangers which attend a system of 'family livings,' though comparatively few in number, and of the leasing of estates, even by our own Bishops, in former years. If during the period of the foundation of parishes and the granting or appropriation of parochial endowments, the two tendencies to make them either monastic or family property had been allowed free scope, the clergy would have become ungovernable, at any rate from the episcopal point of view. The interests of discipline in both respects were in some degree met by the decrees of Councils, the first forbidding parochial endowments to be given to monasteries without a Bishop's consent, the second by the harsh laws on celibacy and the more reasonable laws against succession from father to son.[47]

Another strong though generally tacit influence has been the prepossession of the laity in favour of a celibate clergy. Worldly men have not been sorry in any age that others should be examples of a devotion to which they themselves do not aspire. They thereby pay homage to religion without bearing

[47] The course of these laws may be followed in the *Decretals* of Greg. IX. Lib. I. tit. xvii., *de filiis presbyterorum ordinandis vel non.* The earliest is from the Council of Poictiers, A.D. 1087 ; the latest, one of Greg. IX., A.D. 1227–34. The early letters (10) are all addressed to English prelates, showing how strong the tendency to family succession was in this country. They are worth study as a specimen of the way in which laws were modified by papal dispensations, the result being practically to draw patronage into the hands of the Popes.

its burdens. The Roman poet Horace notices this as regards the higher standard of morals which a rich patron expects from his *protégé* ('Ep.' I. xviii. 27), wishing him 'Plus quam se sapere et virtutibus esse priorem.' It may not be a very high motive, but it has a certain reasonableness in it, and must be remembered. The feeling of women is, I presume, different. They desire to have a confidant who will not share their secrets, divulged in the confessional, with another woman. Both motives are selfish, but strong. Probably the first has lost its influence very much, and Roman Catholic laymen would, if I may venture to judge, perhaps as a majority prefer to have married clergy if they could be sure that they were well married. But a social change of this kind would be tremendous and, even if permitted by authority, would in the first generation produce many inconvenient results. I fear that the French clergy who have recently used their civil right of marriage (of course giving up their ministry in the Roman communion) have not always been fortunate in their choice of wives.

There is, lastly, another reason, which has not, I think, been distinctly noticed by writers who have treated this subject, which nevertheless may account in some real degree for the toleration of the scandals which have always attended clerical celibacy in the Western Church. This reason applies especially to that part of the West where the Roman civil law prevailed. The Eastern and Western Churches have for a long period, especially from the ninth century

onward, shown themselves very unequally sensitive to different aspects of the Christian conception of marriage. The East has long been anxious that all unions between men and women should take the form of marriage,[48] while it has been too facile as regards divorce. The Roman West, on the other hand, has been very tolerant as regards concubinage and has admitted and still admits natural children on very easy terms to inheritance and social position, and to the priesthood.[49] Dispensation has to be obtained for the latter, but the power of granting this dispensation is one of the faculties habitually conceded to

[48] By 'concubinage' of course is meant the association of one man with one woman, intended to be permanent, but dissoluble at pleasure on either side. There is a good book on this subject by a German writer, Paul Meyer, *Der Römische Konkubinat nach den Rechtsquellen und den Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1895): on the freedom of dissolution of the relation see pp. 11, 88; on Justinian's emphasis on concubinage as a continuous and monogamous relation see pp. 154–5, and his *Nov.* 18, 5, and 89, 12, 4; cp. *Cod. Just.* vii. 15, 3: 'Omnibus etenim uxores habentibus concubinas, vel liberas vel ancillas, habere nec antiqua iura nec nostra concedunt.' In the eighth century it was ordained that a man could not dismiss a concubine without reason, and if he did so he was punishable with a heavy fine (p. 158). In the ninth century the relation was forbidden entirely, first by Basilius Macedo, and then by his son, Leo the Philosopher: *Const.* 89, *ne matrimonia citra sacram benedictionem confirmentur*, and 91, *ut concubinam habere non liceat* (*ib.* pp. 158–9).

[49] It was brought as a charge against Callistus that he had permitted noble women to contract unions with men of lower rank with whom marriage was impossible to them: *Ref. Haer.* ix. 12, p. 460. Tertullian notices the difficulty of such women, and counsels them to accept men of lesser fortune, *Ad Ux.* ii. 8. Augustine says of concubinage, 'Potest quidem fortasse non absurde appellari conubium, si usque ad mortem alicuius eorum id inter eos placuerit,' *De Bono Coniug.* 5, 14. Similarly Toledo, I. canon 17, A.D. 400, declared: 'is qui non habet uxorem, et pro uxore concubinam

Bishops.[50] The Western Church has also been very strict (at any rate in name) as regards dissolution of marriages once validly contracted. It has thus both by its laxity and its strictness, or rather by the unfortunate combination of the first with the second, encouraged persons of lax habits, living in countries where public opinion is on a low level, to think that unions outside marriage are more convenient than the severity of the married state, and are not much less respectable.

Without going further into this subject, which would carry us far from our present purpose, we can see that the condonation of concubinage in the West must have made the position of the professedly celibate but practically married clergy much more tolerable than it otherwise would have been and much less scandalous. Further, the fact that many Western clergy have been of illegitimate birth has made them personally less sensitive. There has not, therefore, been so much need felt for reform.

Thus various causes have combined to reinforce the waning energy of the older devotional spirit which desired the clerical life to be the highest life. The practical legislative and governing spirit of the Roman See; the medieval desire for theoretical completeness; the wish to keep up Church unity and independence at any price; the prejudices and

habeat, a communione non repellatur, tantum ut unius mulieris . . . sit coniunctione contentus.' In the West concubinage in the laity was not formally condemned before the Lateran Synod of A.D. 1516, under Leo X., which was followed in certain countries by civil laws (Meyer, *l.c.* pp. 166–7).

[50] See Gasparri, *Tract. de Sacra Ord.* § 240 *ad fin.*

convenience of the laity, and carelessness about concubinage, have united to impose an intolerable yoke upon the Latin clergy. In judging the complex process and its results we must consider not merely the curse which blasts the life of individuals, but the shame of the whole Church. That one great branch of the Church should have so ordered the domestic life of the clergy for a thousand years that a priest should be in virtue of his office a suspected person and his house a suspected house, about which nearly every Church assembly that meets must pass a warning canon, is a standing blot upon Christianity which concerns us all.

It would be wrong to doubt that there is much genuine devotion in candidates for the ministry of the Roman Church at the present day, or that in many of them the solemn purpose of self-sacrifice is kept up at a high level throughout life. But the sin and misery of many, and the disgraceful position imposed on the clergy generally, and the loss of reality and power which has followed a departure from the principles of Scripture in this matter, make compulsory celibacy one of the most dangerous errors of the Roman Church—dangerous, I mean, to its own efficiency and stability quite as much as an example to be avoided by those who are out of communion with it.

We may sum up the error under two heads. It is acting contrary to the law of God (1) in 'forbidding to marry,' which is the sign of a corrupt Church (1 Tim. iv. 3), and (2) in teaching, without His authority, that grace will be given to keep the obligation

of continence in a state to which God has not attached that obligation or the promise of that gift.

Why is it that 'forbidding to marry' is contrary to the law of God? It is not merely because it is mentioned as a sign of false doctrine by St. Paul in the passage just referred to, but because the command to marry is a general one and the exception to it occurs only in the case where a man is assured by experience that he has the 'gift' of continence. The general command is contained in the precept to our first parents, renewed to Noah and his sons, 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it' (Gen. i. 28), 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth;' 'Bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein' (*ib.* ix. 1, 7). This command was renewed in a different form by St. Paul: 'Because of fornications, let each man have his own wife, and let each woman have her own husband' (1 Cor. vii. 2), and 'I desire therefore that the younger *widows* [or *women*] marry, bear children, rule the household, give none occasion to the adversary for reviling' (1 Tim. v. 14). These precepts hold as long as there is land to colonise or to civilise, and as long as there is temptation to the unmarried. Both men and women are bound by these precepts; and they should be ready to help one another to fulfil them, by not being too exacting as to income and position and the continuance of accustomed luxuries. Marriage in which self-denial is involved is better than marriage with all the concomitants of artificial comfort. I need not, of

course, say that prudence is specially necessary in the choice of a partner in marriage: but it is often prudent to make a wise venture.

It is, of course, often said by Roman controversialists that their Church does not forbid anyone to marry, because entrance into the priesthood is an act of free-will. But the priesthood is Christ's ordinance, not of man's device. The Church has no right to attach unscriptural conditions to it, if a man desires to enter it, as he may desire to enter any other honourable, useful and innocent employment, and has the necessary qualifications for it. 'If any man desireth the office of a Bishop'—that of course here includes the Presbyterate—'he desireth a good work' (1 Tim. iii. 1). The Church has no doubt the right to exact conditions really necessary to the office, but otherwise it is the glory and advantage of the Church that the ministry is free to men of all kinds and classes. Nor is this prohibition merely an act of tyranny to the individual: it deprives the Church of just that class of men, experienced householders, which would most strengthen it at any rate in time of peace, and of the highest and purest examples of domestic life, and of the services of perhaps the best class of married women. It deprives both Church and State of the children trained in the most religious homes and under the most wholesome conditions of simplicity and public spirit, who are probably the best element in the life of the nation.

The second ground of censure on the Roman

Church is that it is guilty of a double presumption in teaching, as in the canon of Trent, that a special gift of grace will be given where God has not promised it, and then in treating the absence of that gift as if it were a sin. Continence is as much a special charisma as the gift of tongues or prophecy or working miracles of any kind. It is a rather uncommon exception to the general course of human nature.

Celibacy is certainly in no way annexed to Holy Orders by God's ordinance. There is a charisma attached to Ordination which we may succinctly define with Thomas Aquinas and Eugenius IV. (at the Council of Florence), Cardinal Pole and others : 'The effect of Ordination is an increase of grace, making a man a fit minister' ('Effectus est augmentum gratiae, ut quis sit idoneus minister.')[51] There is a gift of the Holy Spirit helping the clergy to teach and to govern and giving effect to the sacraments which they dispense. But since a number of the first Apostles and those who followed them in the ministry were married men living with their wives,[52] and the large majority of priests have always been so in the Eastern Church,

[51] The little treatise of Thomas, *Expositio in Articulos Fidei et Sacramenta Ecclesiae* (*Op.* tom. viii. pp. 45-49, Venet. 1776, 4to), was taken up by Eugenius IV. in his *Decretum pro Armenis*, A.D. 1439 (Labbe, *Conc.* xiii. 538), and repeated by Cardinal Pole for the instruction of the English (*ib.* xiv. 1740). For other definitions see G. L. Hahn, *Lehre von den Sakramenten*, pp. 355 foll. (Breslau, 1864). Cp. *The Episcopate of Charles Wordsworth*, p. 219, 1899.

[52] The married state of the Apostles (except St. John and St. Paul) is generally assumed by the Fathers from 1 Cor. ix. 5. It is a modern Roman gloss on St. Matt. xix. 27 (favoured, I am sorry to see, by Gasparri) that St. Peter permanently left his wife when he became a disciple. Cp. Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 30.

perpetual continence is not necessary to the idea of a 'fit minister.' The Church of Rome, by its admission of married priests to minister in the Uniate congregations connected with it in many parts of the world, shows that it does not think it necessary. The charisma of continence is therefore quite outside Ordination, while the duty of chastity is strictly necessary to it. It needs no instances to show that celibacy enforced on those who have not the gift of continence promotes unchastity.

If, therefore, a Priest of the Latin Church finds himself after ordination not to be possessed of the gift of continence, he may well distrust the Church which has deceived him by false expectations. He is in a great strait, and it is difficult to offer him positive counsel. But three things, I think, he ought not to do. He ought not to give up the ministry to which he has solemnly pledged himself for life, unless he has so fallen as to be really unfit for any further ministration. Nor ought he to expose any woman to the false position which she would have as a priest's wife privately married and unrecognised by the law. Nor ought he to change his allegiance from the Roman to that of the Old Catholic or Anglican Churches merely or chiefly in order to obtain liberty to marry. Such conversions are far from solid. Should this book fall into the hands of any priest of the Latin Church who is in this strait, let me intreat him to ask God's help to endure patiently the cross and the burden. He may hope much from a mercy that is higher than man's.

But if such a one be for other reasons convinced that he can no longer remain in communion with Rome, and finds, on entering some other communion of the Church where there is no adverse rule, that there is work for him to do in it in which marriage would help him, he is, in my judgment, free to marry. He is, as I have shown in treating of Subdeacons (pp. 181–3), under no express vow—this is allowed by Sanchez and by many others—and nothing but an express vow, on a matter of so great moment to a man's life, can be considered a real vow. But, though he be free, he will be setting a far higher example, and conducing to the peace and unity of the Church, if his marriage follows after a marked interval, and certainly does not precede his new condition of service.

Caution as to ordinations.

I would add as a practical note for persons of our own communion that it does not seem right for Bishops to ordain illegitimate persons without a dispensation obtained from the Archbishop of Canterbury. When Archbishop Grindal reviewed his powers (secured to the Archbishop of Canterbury in place of the Pope under the Act of 25 Henry VIII. ch. 21, §§ 2 and 3, A.D. 1533–4), this was among those expressly retained by him; and prudence requires that searching examination should be made by central authority before such persons are admitted to Holy Orders among us.[53]

[53] See Strype's *Grindal*, book ii. ch. 6, and Appendix no. 5—a reference which I owe to the late Bishop (Westcott) of Durham.

V

WOMEN'S WORK: WIDOWS—PRESBYTERESSES—DEACONESSES—VIRGINS.

Of all the revolutions introduced by Christianity into the social life of mankind the new position given to women has been perhaps the most remarkable and the most fruitful in results. It does not of course stand alone, but is part of the general tendency to elevate the weaker and humbler side of human nature which is so wonderfully and prophetically pointed out in the *Magnificat* as the result of the Incarnation. The older prophet, too, foresaw this when he said: 'The Lord hath created a new thing in the earth, a woman shall compass [or protect] a man.'[1] It was a new thing that the Virgin Mother should protect her Son, who was at once her Creator and her Saviour; and ever since that time women have had a new place in fostering and caring for His visible body, the Church. An insight was also given into their duties in this respect by our Lord's loving intercourse with the family at Bethany, and His readiness to accept service from those whom He met

[1] Jeremiah, xxxi. 22. The word for 'man' is 'geber,' *i.e.* a strong man.

on His journeyings—like the woman of Samaria—or from tried fellow-countrywomen, such as were His Mother's sister Salome, Joanna, wife of Chuza, Susanna, Mary of Magdala, and other women from Galilee, whose faithfulness and gratitude, when His Apostles left Him, have been an example to all time.

As regards the particular conditions of women's service to Himself, our Lord evidently blessed both the married and the unmarried state. He was born in a family. His first miracle was at the marriage feast of Cana. He spoke strongly of the sanctity of the marriage bond, and He accepted the title of the Bridegroom given to Him by the Baptist (St. John iii. 29 ; cp. St. Matt. ix. 14, 15). He was evidently unwilling to commend abstinence from marriage, except in such terms as would leave everyone free in the matter to consult his own constitution and temperament as a gift from God (St. Matt. xix. 3–12).[2]

On the other hand the service of unmarried women is specially commended by the example of Mary of Bethany, praised by the Evangelist and by our Lord in language which is re-echoed by St. Paul in his characterisation of the estate of Christian Virgins ;[3] and that of widows by the example probably both of Salome and Joanna above men-

[2] Bengel renders *οὐ πάντες* in verse 11 by 'nulli,' but this use of *οὐ πᾶς* for 'no one' seems to require a verb in close connection with the negative, as *οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σάρξ*, St. Matt. xxiv. 22. *Οὐ πάντες* is rather 'non quivis': 'It is not anyone who chooses who can practise celibacy, but [only] those to whom it is given.'

[3] St. Luke x. 38–42 ; cp. 39, 40 with 1 Cor. vii. 35.

tioned.[4] For we cannot for a moment suppose that our Lord would have approved of married women, with home duties, neglecting them for ministry to Himself.

A new life for penitents was also opened by the same gracious hand, which did not disdain the ministry of the woman of Samaria, who had blighted a number of homes, of the woman who was a sinner 'in the city,' or of Mary of Magdala, out of whom He had cast seven devils, and of others whom He had healed of evil spirits.[5]

[4] St. Luke, viii. 1–3. The women who accompanied our Lord and His Apostles and ministered to their necessities are Mary of Magdala, Joanna, wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna and 'many others.' No doubt they travelled with their servants. All are described as having been 'healed of evil spirits and infirmities,' and their ministry was therefore one of gratitude and a perpetual testimony to the Lord's power.

Joanna is mentioned again (St. Luke xxiv. 10) together with Mary of Magdala and Mary (mother) of James. Salome is mentioned (St. Mark xv. 40) together with Mary of Magdala and Mary the mother of James the Less and Joses, as watching the crucifixion from a distance; and her identity (1) with the wife of Zebedee is gathered from the description of a similar group (St. Matt. xxvii. 56), and (2) with the sister of the Blessed Virgin, from the notice of the group that stood beneath the Cross (St. John xix. 25). She was, therefore, aunt of our Blessed Lord according to the flesh, and her sons, James and John, were His first cousins. Zebedee is not named as in life after the call of his two sons (St. Mark i. 20). The fact that he had 'hired servants' implies a superior condition. Chuza, husband of Joanna, may possibly be the *βασιλικός* or courtier of Herod Antipas, referred to in St. John iv. 46 foll.

[5] Cp. St. Luke vii. 37, viii. 2, 3, and St. Mark xvi. 9. St. Luke's account suggests that Mary of Magdala was different from the woman who was a sinner. The term 'seven devils' implies a great variety of sinful courses. Cp. the *Testament of the XII Patriarchs Reuben* 2 and 3.

Thus a clear foundation was laid in the Gospel for such voluntary devotion as women of all states are able to give, and on this was built the more developed ministry of the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic age.

In the Apostolic age, as displayed to us by the Acts and Epistles, we find the Deaconess Phoebe, attached to the Church of Cenchrea, carrying St. Paul's greatest Epistle from Achaia to Rome (Rom. xvi. 1). We find Dorcas at Joppa surrounded by a company of widows (Acts ix. 36). We find the four virgin daughters of Philip the Evangelist recognised as prophetesses at Caesarea (Acts xxi. 9). We find various women referred to or saluted in St. Paul's Epistles as fellow-labourers in the Lord (Phil. iv. 2; Rom. xvi. 6, 12). We find Prisca or Priscilla, wife of Aquila, taking a prominent position: and we notice that, in four out of the six times in which she is mentioned, she is named before her husband (Acts xviii. 2, 18, 26; Rom. xvi. 3, 4; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; 2 Tim. iv. 19). It has even been suggested that she was the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which has been conjecturally assigned to many different authors. Other important names are those of Chloe at Corinth, and Lydia at Philippi.

Remembering this evidence, we shall not be surprised to find in St. Paul's first Epistle to Timothy instructions about the character of Deacons' wives or Deaconesses, as well as about Bishops and Deacons (1 Tim. iii. 11), which establish their position in the

first century in the Church of Ephesus. The same Epistle introduces us to a class of recognised widows, whose names were on a public list, and who were expected apparently to give themselves to good works, hospitality, visiting, and the like (*ib.* v. 9–16). They were clearly on the roll for the purpose of receiving alms from the Church chest, and this, as well as the experience of their instability in the purpose of remaining widows, seems to have led St. Paul to raise the age of their admission to sixty, and to counsel the younger widows to marry.[6] In his previous letter to the Corinthians (1 Cor. vii. 8, 9), though he had expressed his preference for widows remaining single, he had made it clear that re-marriage was permissible (*ib.* 9 and 39) to them. Here he actually counsels them to remarry, a point which no doubt was in some measure due to the difficulty of young Christian women forming households for themselves in the midst of an antagonistic society, and preserving an unblemished reputation. A similar counsel would probably be given to young widows in India now.

It is well to refer to Bishop Lightfoot's comment on Rom. xvi. 1 and 1 Tim. iii. 11, as showing the importance of exact scholarship as a handmaid, not merely to history, but to Church order and practice: 'If the testimony borne in these two passages to a ministry of women in the Apostolic times had not been thus blotted out of our English Bibles, attention

[6] 1 Tim. v. 14, where *νεωτέρας* is now generally held to refer to the younger widows.

would probably have been directed to the subject at an earlier date, and our English Church would not have remained so long maimed in one of her hands.'[7]

There was thus a good Scriptural foundation for the ministry of different classes of women; but, as on other Gospel foundations, some built on it gold, silver and precious stones, and some wood, hay and stubble. St. Paul, who was clearly himself unmarried, at any rate when he wrote to the Corinthians (1 Cor. vii. 7), had a strong belief in the value of the virgin state, as a help to a man or woman in doing God's work in the world, but he diligently guards himself from enforcing it as a rule for all time or for all persons. In his careful instruction on the position of Virgins, including Widows, in the Christian Church (1 Cor. vii. 25–40), evidently written in answer to a request from the Corinthians, he dwells much upon the conditions of the age. He speaks of 'the present necessity' (26), of the time being 'short' (29), of the 'fashion of this world passing away' (31). He also recognises that some have the gift (of continence) and others not (7, 9). He points out that he is writing as one who gives his own opinion and without express revelation (25); and he several times checks his own evident preferences lest he should cast a snare on those to whom he is writing (35), or imply that sin exists where it does not exist (28, 36, 38, 39). It was

[7] *On a fresh Revision of the English New Testament*, p. 114 n., quoted in *The Ministry of Deaconesses*, by Deaconess Cecilia Robinson, 1898, p. 15, a book which I have found very useful in studying this subject.

a time of persecution, a time of expectation of judgment, a time of transformation in society. Happy would it have been for the Church if such careful recollection of the needs of the time and the different conditions of human will and of the real object of asceticism had been observed by her other teachers. For there are times and places when the Church should stand apart from the world and make a protest by its singularity: there are times and places when its chief duty is to penetrate and sanctify society as its salt and leaven, while the one end, both for the married and the single, of serving God most fully in practical life always remains the same.

I have attempted in the foregoing chapter to point out the great mistake that has been made by the confusion of the monastic and clerical ideals. Such confusion, from the nature of the case, has been less possible in regard to the ministry of women, nor has the prevalence of community life among them led to such dangerous idleness or withdrawal from social usefulness, though many cases of the kind no doubt occurred. On the whole, making the necessary deductions for the greater prevalence of superstition and frivolity in communities of women, it may be said that the ascetic life among women has been more beneficial than the similar life when led by men. Communities of women are, so to speak, more natural than communities of men. Two or more women can make a happy home together without men. No number of men can make real homes without

women. The best ordered life in such a case must have something rough and defective about it. Nor do men require such refuges in coarse and dark ages and periods of civil war, in the same degree that women do. In many countries and many ages, and perhaps not least in our own country, men who ought to have been fighting the battle of life, and, very often, actually girding on the sword, became cowards and idlers in the cloister. I do not, of course, forget such students as Bede, such teachers as Alcuin, such missionaries as Boniface. Some kind of collegiate life was necessary, but it was not necessary to have so large and wealthy communities or so many of them. Concentration would have strengthened those that were really needed.

Let us now consider more in detail the three distinct types of female ministry which are implied as already existing, in more or less concrete form, in the Apostolic age, by the passages of the New Testament to which I have referred, viz. Widows (including Presbyteresses), Deaconesses and Virgins.

I. *Widows.*—Monogamy in women, and consequently perseverance in widowhood, was valued in the Roman world as well as in the East.[8] Christianity

[8] See the references in Kraus, *s.v.* 'Viduae,' p. 948 b. St. Jerome also states in writing to Furia that second marriages (presumably of women) had almost been unknown in her family since the time of Camillus (*Ep.* 54, 1). They were also disliked among women by the Germans (Tac. *Germ.* 19). From another side we have the witness of the late writer Naumachius, ap. Stob. *Flor.* ch. 74, § 7—an interesting passage. See above, pp. 215, n. 10, and 219, n. 15.

did not, however, press it, at first, so strongly as might perhaps have been expected. On the contrary, as we have seen, St. Paul saw the danger of enforcing it on the young, or on those who, after conversion, might be deserted by their husbands. The finances of the Church were also easily strained, and it was felt necessary that a Widow should not only be advanced in years—the minimum age being placed at sixty—but should be without children or grandchildren able to support her. Such Widows were placed upon the roll of the Church—*κατάλογος*, 'matricula'—and received pensions from its funds.[9] They had an honourable place in the congregation[10] and were probably mentioned in the Litanies. They were themselves expected to be present regularly at the services and to be, like Anna (St. Luke ii. 37), constant in prayers. They were also to give themselves to the work of nursing, visiting, teaching and the like. Those who were thus enrolled were expected to remain unmarried, but they were not at any time ordained by laying on of hands, and they seem to have taken no vow.

As time went on and dependence on Church funds came to be less important, a second class of Widows of higher rank seems to have grown up both in the East and the West without the limit of age and receiving no pay from the Church chest. This

[9] See the letter of Cornelius to Fabius, Eus. *H. E.* vi. 43, 11.

[10] This is first mentioned by Tert. *De Pudic.* 13: 'prosternis in medium ante viduas, ante presbyteros.'

development belongs to the last half of the fourth century. Such were some of the Roman ladies who formed part of St. Jerome's circle, especially Paula and Marcella, Blaesilla and Furia. Such were Silvina and Pentadia, and above all Olympias, who were the intimate friends and fellow-workers of St. Chrysostom at Constantinople. But while the Roman ladies had no official position, the larger number of the Eastern Widows of distinction were associated with the Deaconesses.

This higher class of Widows was distinguished by the dark dress like that of Virgins, the *vestis fuscior*[11] which they first put on of their own accord, but which afterwards became official. There was probably no other ceremony, not even a prayer for the Widow herself, in the Western Church in the fourth century. The house of Marcella on the Aventine, which was the centre for the devout ladies whom Jerome taught and directed, was not apparently the home of a community, as it has been sometimes called, but a sort of 'Domestic Church' like those of the Apostolic age.[12] The earliest Latin prayer for blessing a Widow that has come down to us is that which begins 'Consolare, Domine,'[13] in the seventh century 'Gelasian' Sacra-

[11] Hieron. *Ep.* 38 *ad Marcellam.* The dress was apparently the same as that of a consecrated Virgin: cp. *Ep.* 24, 3, *ad Marcellam*, about her sister Asella.

[12] Cp. Hieron. *Ep.* 127 *ad Principiam.* Miss Robinson seems to make it too much of a community, *l.c.* pp. 46 foll.

[13] The prayer runs: 'Consolare, Domine, hanc famulam tuam viduitatis languoribus constrictam, sicut consolari dignatus es Sarapthenam viduam per Heliam prophetam: concede ei pudicitiae

mentary and in the 'Missale Francorum.' It stands alone in the first book, but in the second it has an alternative or alternatives and is preceded by a prayer for the dress. We may therefore perhaps conclude that the 'Gelasian' has here the earliest Roman prayer and that the others are Gallican, and that the blessing of the dress is Gallican and not Roman in origin.

Indeed the practical, almost Puritan, Roman spirit of the first eight or nine centuries objected to the assimilation of Widows to Nuns. Gelasius I. (492–6) —if the ninth Decretal ascribed to him is genuine— forbade Bishops to veil Widows. Nicholas I. (858–67) in like manner disapproved of the Gallican rule of obliging professed Widows to enter a monastery. But in Gaul the custom was established, though it would be, I think, saying too much to affirm that

fructum, ut antiquarum non meminerit voluptatum: nesciat etiam incentiva desideria ut soli tibi subdat propria colla, quo possit pro laboribus tantis sexagesimum granum percipere, munus delectabile sanctitatis. Per.' According to St. Jerome, the hundredfold, sixtyfold and thirtyfold produce of the Parable of the Sower in St. Matt. xiii. 8 and 23 correspond to Virginity, Widowhood and Marriage. It is a favourite topic with him, as in his Epistles to *Eustochium* 22, 15, to *Pammachius* 48, 3, and 66, 2, and to *Ageruchia* 123, 9, and in St. Matt. xii. 8; cp. *Adv. Iovin.* ii. 19, and 26. Jerome (*Ep.* 48, 3) says that at any rate he is more considerate of married people than 'most Latin and Greek writers,' by which he seems to mean Cyprian, *De Hab. Virg.* 21, who makes Martyrs = 100 and Virgins = 60, and Origen, *Hom. in Iesum Nave*, 2, 1, who expresses the third term (Widows = 30), which Cyprian leaves to be understood. There must have been an ancient tradition on the subject. The other prayers refer to Anna, wife of Phanuel. Jerome puts the two instances together, *Ep.* 54, 16, *ad Furiam.*

the freedom of a Widow's profession was lost in the Church and merged in that of nuns.[14]

The practice of Widows making a personal profession existed in England up to the time of the Reformation, a well-known instance being that of Lady Margaret, mother of King Henry VII. The customary dress of Widows in England (which is now, I suppose, becoming less common) was a modification of the old dress of professed Widows, and there can be no reason why the status of ladies who desire to remain widows should not be more publicly recognised than it is. It does not seem necessary that a Bishop should intervene in the matter, though the blessing of a Priest might well be asked at the time of the taking of the dress. The old prayers, with some modifications, might also be used, but care should be taken not to impose irrevocable vows upon them.

The position of Widows in the East had, as I have intimated, a tendency to become more formal and more like that of an order of the Ministry, especially in Churches affected by an heretical bias of any kind.

[14] Dr. Hatch speaks as if the rite of the benediction of Widows disappeared from the later Sacramentaries; *Dict. Chr. Ant.* s.v. 'Widows,' p. 2035. This is certainly not true of English books and some certainly of foreign Pontificals, *e.g.* the Milanese of the ninth century, the Amiens of the eleventh, and others. I have a conspectus of a number of such 'Orders,' collected by the kindness of Rev. H. A. Wilson, of Magdalen College, Oxford. Martene's collection, *De Ant. Ecc. Rit.* lib. II. c. vii. is very meagre.

But in the Catholic Church imposition of hands was not given to them.[15]

This different position of Widows in the East is implied by the writings of the Apostolic Fathers Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna. The former, writing of the Smyrneans (ch. 13), salutes 'the Virgins who are called Widows': that is to say (if we adopt Bishop Lightfoot's explanation), the Widows who by the purity and devotion of their life are really Virgins. It seems, however, rather natural to suppose that unmarried women, without belongings, of advanced age were sometimes placed in the same class as the Widows.[16] Polycarp, writing to the Philippians, uses the striking metaphor of 'the altar of God' to describe the Widows—signifying, I imagine, at once the gifts which they received from man and their own devotion to the service of God. The same line of thought is carried out in the two third century documents, the 'Didascalia' (iii. 1–15) and the 'Apostolic Church Order' (ch. 21), which are themselves expanded and utilised in the developed but very dissimilar Church Orders of the end of the fourth century, the 'Apostolic Constitutions' and the 'Testament of our Lord.'

We may here distinguish two parallel tendencies

[15] See *Egyptian Church Order*, 37; *Eth. Ch. O.* 26; *Ap. Const.* viii. 25, and note 21 below.

[16] Tertullian complains that a young Virgin of less than twenty years was in one Church placed on the roll of Widows, *De Virg Vel.* 9.

in the Eastern Church, the dry common-sense tradition of the Church of Antioch, represented by the 'Didascalia' and the 'Constitutions,' and the more enthusiastic first Montanist and then (as I hold) Apollinarian (Asian and Syrian) tradition represented by the 'Apostolic Church Order' and the 'Testament.' But both put the Widows more forward as an order of ministry than the West generally did.

In the '(Syriac) Didascalia' and the 'Constitutions' we find provisions closely agreeing with one another (though amplified and modified somewhat in the later book) the object of which seems to be threefold: first, to avoid the scandal of a professed Widow marrying again by fixing the age, which had apparently slipped back, to a higher and more Scriptural level—the Syriac naming fifty and the 'Constitutions' the Pauline sixty years (1 Tim. v. 9); secondly, to keep them morally in their proper place, discouraging grasping, roaming and gossiping, and prohibiting them from talking much to outsiders about the mysteries of the faith; thirdly, to prevent them from assuming clerical functions, especially teaching (c. 6) and baptising (c. 9). On the latter point the argument is put forward, which was afterwards employed by Epiphanius against the Collyridians,[17] that if women

[17] Epiph. *Haer.* 79, 3. This sect is perhaps in some degree also in the view of the author of the *Constitutions*. The *Gallican Statutes*, c. 12 (from Eastern sources) run as follows: 'Viduae vel sanctimoniales quae ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur tam instructae sint ad officium ut possint apto et sano sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres tempore quo bapti-

might baptise, our Lord would have been baptised by His Mother and not by St. John. Both in the 'Didascalia' and the 'Constitutions' a Deaconess is preferred to a Widow as an assistant to the clergy and in the minor duties connected with the ministration of Baptism to women (c. 15).

In these and similar books the elder Widows are sometimes mentioned under the title of πρεσβύτιδες, a name for which we have no nearer equivalent than the somewhat ambiguous and inexact 'Presbyteresses.' Some advance in their position is observable in the 'Constitutions' as compared with the 'Didascalia,'[18] but the prominence given to them is not great in either. The Virgins, Widows and Presbyteresses have the first place among the women in church (ii. 57), and the latter have a portion at a feast half that of a Presbyter (ii. 28).

The provisions of the 'Apostolic Church Order' are simple, but they show a higher estimate of the

zandae sunt qualiter baptizatori interrogatae respondeant, et qualiter accepto baptismate vivant.' This does not seem to me to make it the duty of Widows to baptize (as Abp. Benson rather too concisely puts it, *Cyprian*, p. 53, n. 5), but to prepare for Baptism and to do those minor ritual duties in the baptismal service which were elsewhere generally assigned to Deaconesses. So Widows with precedence are instructed to anoint women before Baptism, and to look after them when they make their profession, in the *Testament of our Lord*, ii. 8, p. 129 foll.

[18] In the *Didascalia*, ii. 57, it is simply said, 'Let the Widows and Presbyteresses have a special seat.' In other places, ii. 28 and iii. 5 (end), πρεσβύτιδες is introduced in the *Constitutions*, where the *Didascalia* has 'Widows.'

position of the Widows—a position which I am inclined to believe was at first given to them in Asia Minor rather than in Syria or Egypt. The text is as follows (ch. 2): 'Let three Widows be appointed [in a church], two of them being constant in prayer on behalf of all those who are in trial and for the purpose of receiving revelations,[19] and let one, attending to the women who are tried by sickness, be apt to minister (*εὐδιάκονος*), sober (*νηπτική*), reporting what is needful to the Presbyters, not greedy of gain (*αἰσχροκερδής*), not given to much wine, that she may be able to keep her head clear (*νήφειν*) for her nightly ministrations and for any other good works she may desire to do: for these are the first good treasures of the Lord.' The same little treatise at its close shows a determination not to give women any place in liturgical duty, and in connection with this point rules that they are to pray seated on the ground and not standing upright. It in fact rejects the ministry of Deaconesses.

But the more enthusiastic 'Testament of our Lord' puts the Widows more distinctly among the clergy. They are admitted by the Bishop with a prayer of which the text is given (i. 41), which I have printed in a note[20] as being different from any

[19] This Montanistic feature is very noticeable. It is a point of marked connection between the *Ap. Ch. Order* and the *Testament of our Lord.*

[20] 'O God, the holy and the high, who regardest things that are lowly, who hast chosen the weak, strong in power, the honourable one, who hast also created things that are contemptible, send, O Lord, the spirit of power on this thy handmaid, and strengthen her

Western prayer that has come down to us. Nothing, indeed, is said about imposition of hands and that rite can hardly have been used even in the singular community represented by this book.[21] But the 'Widows with precedence,' whom we may almost certainly identify with the Presbyteresses of other chapters, are, as in the 'Apostolic Church Order,' three in number (i. 34) and they have special quarters assigned to them in the court of the Church House near the Bishop (i. 19). The Presbyteresses are prayed for as a separate class in the Litany (i. 35, p. 87; cp. ii. 19). The Widows also have a place, not merely in front of the other women but in the Sanctuary during the Liturgy,

with thy truth, that fulfilling thy commandment, and labouring in thy sanctuary, she may be to thee a vessel of honour, and glorify thee in the day when thou, O Lord, shalt glorify thy poor. Give her the power of cheerfully fulfilling the precepts ordained by thee for the guidance of thy handmaid. Give her, Lord, the spirit of humility, power, patience and kindliness, that she may support her labours, bearing the yoke with an unspeakable joy. Yea, O Lord God, who knowest our infirmity, perfect thy handmaid to the glory of thy house, to its building up, and to [making it] a noble example: strengthen her, O God, sanctify, teach and comfort her, for blessed and glorious is thy kingdom, O God the Father, and to thee is glory, to thy only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the beneficent, adorable, life-giving holy Spirit, consubstantial with thee, now, before all ages, and through generations of generations, and for ages of ages. Amen.' The last clause about the Holy Spirit shows a late date—*circa* 380—but it may have been added to an earlier prayer.

[21] Its prohibition in some Church Orders (note 15) makes it probable that it was used in some quarters outside the Church. One text, *e.g.*, of the Apocryphal *Acta Matthaei* (ed. Tisch. p. 187), makes that Apostle ordain (καθιστάναι) King Fulvanus a Presbyter and his wife a Presbyteress, and his son and daughter-in-law (aged each seventeen) a Deacon and Deaconess respectively. Another text changes the 'Presbyteress' also to a Deaconess.

and they are bidden to stand at the anaphora on the left-hand side behind the younger Presbyters (i. 23, p. 37). They are privileged to receive the communion immediately after the Deacons and before the Readers and Subdeacons (*ib.* p. 47). They are expected to recite prayers in Church at midnight and dawn, the interesting text of which is given (i. 43), and it is their business to watch over the Deaconesses—instead of being inferior to them—and to do many duties elsewhere assigned to that order of women, particularly those connected with Baptism (ii. 8, p. 129, cp. p. 164: see above, n. 17). Their character and duties are sketched in a strange semi-Montanist chapter; but while they may be expected to receive 'visitations of the Spirit' (for the purpose of revelations) they are not permitted to speak in church (i. 40).

Here we have the furthest effort made in any book professing orthodoxy towards the establishment of an order of Priestesses in the Church. That these efforts were not generally approved may be gathered from Canon 11 of the Phrygian Laodicea of uncertain date which forbids the appointment of 'so-called Presbyteresses or women with precedence' (*πρεσβύτιδας ἢ προκαθημένας*). Doubtless it was felt to savour too much of Montanism. The practice was also carried to an even greater length of superstition in the heretical sect of the Collyridians, who had passed from Thrace and Upper Scythia into Arabia. They offered to the Virgin Mary worship due only to God, and in particular priestesses among them offered cakes

(κολλυρίδες) to her of which the rest of the congregation partook, evidently as a kind of sacrament. Epiphanius in describing and attacking this heresy draws a distinction between the term πρεσβῦτις, which is admissible to describe an elder widow, and πρεσβυτερίς or ἱέρισσα, whose name and function cannot be tolerated ('Haer.' 79, 4, p. 1060–1).

The allied term Presbytera (πρεσβυτέρα) seems to have had a different use in its Greek and Latin forms. In Greek it may mean the superior of a convent, or at any rate a Prioress. It is so used in two of the interrogations on monastic rules, to which we have the answers of St. Basil (nos. 110, 111, ed. Gaume, ii. 240). In the Western Church the word is not uncommon for the wife of a Presbyter either living with her husband, under a resolution of chastity, or separated from him. From the letters of Gregory the Great we learn that such ladies wore a special dress, though not so marked as that of an Abbess ('Epp.' ix. 'ind.' ii. no. 7). A Bishop's wife under similar conditions was sometimes called Episcopa. It is probable that on the entry of a married man into the ranks of the clergy his wife received a benediction, but if so the form of it has not come down to us.[22]

[22] I take this to be the meaning of the short sentence in the *Ordo Romanus*, ix. 3 (*P. L.* 78, 1005) describing the procession after an ordination: 'Ipse [Pontifex] sedet super equum album; praecedens et subsequens populus canit ei laudem. Similiter etiam feminae diaconissae et presbyterissae, quae eodem die benedicuntur.' Deaconesses being very little known in the Roman West 'diaconissae'

Looking to the experience of the early Church as a whole, we must see that it was adverse to the establishment of an order of Widows, under that name, for any regular and practical purposes of ministry. It would have been, in fact, too accidentally constituted to be reasonable. Widowhood might properly claim the compassion of the Church, and ladies who had become widows might frequently be very well fitted to take charge of Deaconesses or Virgins, and might in many more cases be fitted to receive an individual benediction when they desired to remain in the widowed state. But the very fact that they had been mistresses of households rather unfitted them for community life as simple members of a body. Hence we find that, when the experiment of Presbyteresses came to be rejected in the Eastern Church, prominent Widows often became head-Deaconesses, like Olympias, the attached friend of St. Chrysostom.

II. The history of *Deaconesses* is certainly more encouraging and more helpful as a precedent to modern women-workers, though we must admit that

probably means Deacons' wives, and so 'presbyterissae' would be Presbyters' wives. An instance is given in Ducange, *s.v.* 'Presbyterae,' from Oefelius, *Script. Rer. Boicar.* ii. 28: 'Presbyter quidam Gunduni nomine cum Presbyterissa sua Histigunde pro Dei amore . . . dedit mansum suum . . . eo pacto, ut post vitam suam et sociae suae eum proprie retineat.' The passage in Mabillon's *Ordo Romanus* occurs with a slight variant in Hittorp's *Ordo*, ed. 2, p. 64. The Western benedictions of Deaconesses, collected by Prof. J. A. Robinson, *Ministry of Deaconesses*, App. B, p. 203, seem to me to be blessings of Deacons' wives. They are, in parts, very like the blessing of Virgins.

its practical development was confined to the East, and more particularly to such centres as Antioch and Constantinople, though it appears elsewhere. There is scarcely any mention of the office in the West in the first four centuries,[23] and when it is afterwards noticed, it is usually with disfavour. It seems to have penetrated into Southern Gaul—no doubt from the East—at the close of the fourth century, when the assumption of the 'levitical ministry' by women was spoken of as contrary to Apostolic discipline at the Council of Nîmes, A.D. 394.[24] Three other Gallican Councils forbade it in 441, 517 and 533[25] respectively, and, though there are historical traces of the office, *e.g.* in the person of Queen Radegund, the wife of Chlothaire I., A.D. 544, the Diaconate for women never established itself.[26] The first mention of it at Rome seems to belong to the eighth century. Wherever it remained in name in the West, it was generally in connection with Abbesses, or members of religious houses, or with Deacons' wives living apart from their husbands (see note 22). It is said that the Carthusian nuns to the present day are 'vested in stole and maniple on the day of their consecration and sing the Epistle at the conventual

[23] It is not found in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, or the *Egyptian Church Order*, or Ludolf's *Statutes*.

[24] This Council is not noticed by Miss Robinson, not being in the older collections of canons or even in Bruns; but its canons are printed by Hefele and Lauchert.

[25] Viz. I. Orange, c. 26, Epaon (on the Rhone), c. 21, and II. Orleans, c. 18.

[26] See her Life in Surius etc., under August 13.

Mass,' a rite which is connected with the rule of S. Caesarius of Arles.[27]

It is not very easy to account for the rejection of the ministry of Deaconesses in the West, since women were both more free and in some ways more influential there than in the East. Perhaps the very freedom of intercourse between the sexes in the West, and the absence of anything like Zenana life or seclusion of women, made it less necessary to have Deaconesses to visit them privately. Inside the churches the Roman spirit of discipline seems to have been averse to any public ministry of women, though the Vestal Virgins of pagan Rome had had a higher place than the Greek Priestesses. The point is one which seems to deserve more elucidation than it has hitherto received.

The ministry of Deaconesses in the East, wherever it was thoroughly encouraged, was closely assimilated to that of Deacons, both in the form of ordination and in the duties assigned to it. The first evidence of it outside the New Testament is in the letter of Pliny to Trajan speaking of two 'ministrae' whom he had examined by torture as proconsul of Bithynia ('Ep. Traj.' 96). The treatment of Paulianist Deaconesses is discussed by the 19th Canon of Nicaea, A.D. 325,[28] and rules as to age (40)

[27] See Miss Robinson, *l.c.* p. 98, quoting from *The Month* of June 1894, p. 234. Other facts bearing on Deaconesses in the West may be found on pp. 51 foll., 58 foll., and 88 foll. of Miss Robinson's interesting book.

[28] The discussion is rather ambiguous, but Dr. Bright concludes

and perseverance of Church Deaconesses are given in the 15th of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. From the latter it is clear that they received imposition of hands, and this is also prescribed in the Antiochene 'Constitutions,' viii. 19.

The prayer used in their ordination, as described in the 'Apostolic Constitutions,' viii. 18, is closely parallel to that used for a Deacon, but it would hardly be right to suppose that it is much older than the final compilation, *circa* A.D. 375.

In this rite ('A. C.' viii. 19, 20), which we may presume was in use in the Church of Antioch, the Bishop lays hands on the Deaconess 'with the Presbytery standing by, and the Deacons and the Deaconesses,' and says a prayer in which mention is made of Mary (*i.e.* Miriam) and Deborah, Anna (Hannah ?) and Huldah, and the birth of the Son of God of a woman, and the appointment of women guardians of the gates of the Tabernacle. God is asked to look upon His handmaid appointed unto ministry (*διακονίαν*), and to give her the Holy Spirit that she may worthily accomplish the work committed unto her.

The rite of Constantinople published by Goar (p. 262) has also the laying on of hands. The

that, while Paulianist Deaconesses did not receive laying on of hands, Church Deaconesses probably did as early as this date. His collection of material is (as usual) full and valuable, but the minor discriminations of office are not quite clearly explained.

prayers contain a reference to the Virgin birth and to Phoebe—not to the Old Testament examples—and similar petitions for the Holy Spirit. It differs from the earlier rite in having a rubric for putting the diaconal stole (*orarium*) round the deaconess's neck under the veil (*maphorion*). She also receives the chalice after she has communicated, but does not communicate anyone with it. Among the Jacobites, however, a Deaconess seems to have been allowed to communicate women and boys of not more than five years of age, and there is evidence that Deaconesses sometimes took the Sacrament to sick women.[29]

The age for a Deaconess is fixed by the Trullan Council, A.D. 692, c. 14, at not less than 40 years, in agreement with the rule of Chalcedon, though Theodosius the Great had attempted to raise it to 60. Her 'ordination' is spoken of, and further it is enacted that if a married man becomes a Bishop, his wife must be separated from him, and may, if worthy, be advanced to the dignity of Deaconess (c. 48). All these enactments show the respect in which the office was held.

The duties of a Deaconess, however, as historically described do not appear to have been very

[29] See *Ministry of Deaconesses*, pp. 197–203, for the fuller text of all these prayers (the words 'standing by' should not, however, be omitted; *Ap. C.* viii. 19). In the *Testament of our Lord*, ii. 20, 143, we find a rule that a Deaconess shall take Communion to a pregnant woman who is sick and unable to attend church. This book is specially honoured by the Jacobite (Monophysite) Syrians.

considerable. They had (to use Dr. Bright's words) (1) to assist in the instruction and attend the baptism of female catechumens; (2) to take messages from the Bishop to Churchwomen; (3) to look after them in church. Their duties in visiting the sick and in connection with the Eucharist are less frequently mentioned. We have here, however, the germ of all that is now desired for our modern Deaconesses, including their special relation to the Bishop, to whom they are attached much in the same way as the Deacons were.

The two great dates in the modern history of Deaconesses are the revival of the name and work at Kaiserswerth in Germany by Pastor Fliedner in 1833, and of the order by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England in 1871. The history of the revival of the office in the nineteenth century and of its extension in our own times does not fall within the province of this book to describe. Much information on the subject, both in its earlier and later developments, will be found in a carefully written book by a lady who is herself a member of the order in one of our English Dioceses: Miss Cecilia Robinson's 'The Ministry of Deaconesses' (1898). It is to be noticed that hitherto no limit of age has been officially laid down—the American branch of our Church has, however, specified twenty-five years (*l.c.* p. 222)—and that power has hitherto been reserved to 'the Bishop' (apparently the Bishop who has admitted her, or his successor) to release her

from her obligations upon cause shown (*ib.* 215 and 218). The tendency to form the Deaconesses into Sisterhoods has had some vogue, but it is by no means universal; and grave arguments may be advanced on either side. But probably nearly everyone would agree that some kind of community, to which a tired, infirm or aged Deaconess could return or, in the end, retire, would be a great advantage to the work and make it much more attractive and spiritually useful to the members of the order. Such a community is almost necessary when the work to be done is continuous and concentrated (as in a hospital or penitentiary) and not parochial; but even where parochial work is the chief object it would be a great blessing. Of course this implies larger buildings and a greater common fund.

III. The history of the Ministry of *Virgins* in the Church is much fuller than that of either Widows or Deaconesses, and corresponds to the much greater place occupied in the Church of the present day by Convents of Nuns and Sisterhoods. In the first age of the Church, however, the object of the Christian Virgin was neither retirement from domestic life nor united work and prayer with others, but asceticism practised in the home. The other two conditions, of course, were attached to the vocation in process of time, being indeed recommended by experience. But they naturally brought with them compensating difficulties and dangers.

The literary notices of Christian Virgins (male and

female) are, as I have implied, both early and frequent,[30] but it would seem probable that they did not become a recognised body of persons with any status in the Church till the second half of the second century, or the first half of the third.[31]

One of the earliest evidences of such a definite class would appear to be the two letters wrongly ascribed to Clement of Rome, which are preserved in Syriac, the first addressed to male and female Virgins, the second to men alone. The date is uncertain, but the balance of evidence is in favour of the latter half of the second century or the beginning of the third.[32] They are not, however, of great historical or moral interest. The most important early writing on the

[30] See Clem. *Epist. Cor.* 38, Ignat. *Ad Polyc.* 5, Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 15, Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 33, Minucius Felix, 31, all of whom speak of their example as a glory to the Church, and some of them notice the danger of boasting on their part. Hermas's description of his life among the Virgins, *Sim.* ix. 11, is in form purely imaginary, but it may imply a movement towards the life of a recognised order in the Church.

[31] Tertullian's tract *De Virginibus velandis* deals with all Virgins, whether dedicated or not, but he gives evidence of the existence of a class of dedicated Virgins in ch. 3, cp. ch. 9: see above, n. 16. He uses the metaphor of spiritual marriage of Christian Virgins, ch. 16, when urging them to put on the veil as married women did. It does not, I think, appear that he is addressing only Virgins who had a purpose of remaining so, but simply young Christian women still unmarried. The transition to Cyprian's use was very natural.

[32] They were first published by J. J. Wetstein at the end of his Greek Testament. They may be found in a Latin version in Funk's *Apostolic Fathers*. They were not, unfortunately, edited by Lightfoot, but he discusses at some length Mr. Cotterill's arguments for a later date: *Clement of Rome*, i. pp. 409–414 (1890). Harnack puts them in the first half of the third century (*Altchr. Lit. bis Euseb.* p. 518).

subject is St. Cyprian's treatise 'On the Dress of Virgins,' on which Archbishop Benson's interesting comments should be consulted. Cyprian's fourth Epistle on a case of discipline, to which reference has already been made in treating of the 'Subintroductae' (p. 221), also gives important evidence. It is perhaps the earliest in which we find the metaphor of the Bride of Christ, which has played so great a part in the development of the position of Christian Virgins, applied to those who were self-dedicated in purpose (cp. note 31). 'Si autem de eis,' he writes, 'aliqua corrupta fuerit deprehensa agat poenitentiam plenam, quia quae hoc crimen admisit non mariti sed Christi adultera est; et ideo aestimato iusto tempore, postea exomologesi facta, ad Ecclesiam redeat.' Cyprian evidently does not intend the metaphor to be taken strictly (as that would have involved a lifelong penance), but still he gave currency to it (see p. 287).

In the 'Banquet of the Ten Virgins' by the Lycian (afterwards Syrian) Bishop Methodius, early in the fourth century, in the hymn which has the refrain, 'Bridegroom, I come to meet thee!' (Νυμφίε, ὑπαντιάνω σοι), the metaphor is rather that of a Bridesmaid of the Church, as in the Gospel parable. But the direct bridal metaphor is treated by St. Athanasius as in general use in the Catholic Church ('Apol. ad Constantium,' 33). The interesting later tract 'On Virginity' falsely ascribed to St. Athanasius has already been described (*v.s.* p. 55). These, with the well-known treatises and letters of St. Ambrose, St. Augustine and St. Jerome in the West and St. Basil

in the East, will give a good general idea of the position of this class of persons, the dedicated or consecrated Virgins not yet necessarily living in communities. The rules of the different Church Orders also give some information. There is less than we might expect in early canons, that of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), c. 16, being the earliest of any Oecumenical Council. See p. 290 ff.

The fact, of course, is that the ancient Ministry of Virgins was of a passive rather than an active character. It consisted in their good example as to dress and conduct and their zeal for the ordinary duties of devotion and charity, in which they were expected to excel in degree rather than to do something singular and exceptional. What was exceptional was their resolution of abiding single.

Some details as to (1) the age at which they were admitted, (2) the obligations which admission entailed, and (3) the nature of the rite, may be of interest. It will be convenient, however, not to divide the first two subjects, but to look at the history as a whole.

The age at which self-dedication was recognised does not seem at first to have been fixed, but we may gather that an early age was not considered unseemly from the case mentioned by Tertullian of a Virgin of less than twenty years who was admitted among the Widows. He was scandalised by her admission to the latter class, but would not apparently have been surprised at her self-dedication as a Virgin ('De Virg. vel.' 9). St. Jerome tells us of Asella, sister of his friend Marcella, that she consecrated herself to God

when she was little more than ten years old and bought a dark dress for herself by selling a gold necklace ('Ep.' 24, ad Marcellam). Obviously there could be no limit of age as long as there was no necessarily public profession. The earliest mention of such a formal act is in the 'Canons of Hippolytus' (vii. 51), in a somewhat ambiguous passage: 'Let no one receive laying on of hands as a celibate [or Virgin] except after arriving at mature age and held to be faithful and commended by [proper] testimony.' Parallel passages in other Church Orders forbid laying on of hands on Virgins at all.[33] The prohibition of a thing, however, is generally evidence that some persons were desirous to do it, and it is no evidence in this case of a late date for the 'Canons of Hippolytus.' There is a curious passage, indeed, in the writings of St. Ambrose which seems to imply that, in his days at any rate, at Milan the blessing of a Virgin included laying on of hands, and there is another later trace of the same usage in Gaul.[34]

No age is mentioned by St. Cyprian, but, from the respectful terms in which he addresses the Virgins, they would seem to have been at least adults. In his day no special dress can have been used (for he earnestly calls upon them to give up their luxurious fashions of attire), nor is any solemn public vow

[33] *Egyptian Ch. O.* 38; *Ap. Const.* viii. 24.

[34] See Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* Lib. II. c. vi. § 11, quoting St. Ambrose, *De Virginibus* (I. xii. 66) and the Acts of St. Germanus of Auxerre describing his consecration of St. Genoveva.

appealed to. The resolution or intention, the 'propositum' or προαίρεσις, was known and manifest. If broken, it was a scandal; but the words of the Apostle were applied, 'It is better to marry than to burn' ('Ep.' 4, from 1 Cor. vii. 9). This simple attitude towards the question of Virginity is characteristic of the history of many other institutions in the first three centuries. Cyprian apparently imposed no penalty upon the Virgin who openly gave up her resolution and returned to ordinary life. But if she broke it secretly and still kept her position, he wished to impose a considerable penance.

In process of time, especially in the fourth century, various and divergent views began to be taken of the guilt involved in the breach of such a resolution. If we knew when and where it first became customary to make a solemn profession in public and to receive the veil from the Bishop we should very likely be able to conjecture the local and personal influences which were at work. Perhaps the earliest case we can date at all exactly is that of Marcellina under Liberius (A.D. 352–366), which cannot well have been the origin of such a custom. What, however, is most important is to know that these strong differences of opinion existed.

The first Council which deals with the breach of the resolution of Virginity is the severely ascetic Council of Elvira. The city of Elvira or Illiberis was in Southern Spain, but the Council represented the whole country. It is now generally dated just after the cessation of persecution, A.D. 305–6, and it reflects

the enthusiastic temper natural at such a time. In its thirteenth canon it prescribes a lifelong penance, with communion at the close of life, as the mildest treatment. Nothing is said of what is to happen in case of marriage; but inasmuch as the next canon speaks of the marriage of ordinary Virgins who have fallen, it must be held to be intended to exclude marriage for consecrated Virgins, as well, of course, as other connections. On the other hand, the nineteenth Canon of Ancyra, a Council held a little later, but under somewhat similar circumstances, and apparently representing most of Asia Minor and Syria, fixes the duration of penance after the marriage in those who had professed Virginity (whether male or female) at the same length as in the case of digamists, which we know from another source to have been a year.[35] We meet the same difference of opinion towards the close of the century. The First Council of Toledo, in 400 (canons 16 and 19), draws a distinction between a 'devotee' (*devota*) of an ordinary character and one who is the daughter of a Bishop, Priest or Deacon—being more severe towards the latter. In the first case it imposes penance of ten years and separation in case of marriage. In the latter case communion can only be given after the husband's death or at the close of life. But in order rightly to understand this apparent severity we must remember that twenty years before this date the First Council of Saragossa (Caesar-augusta), in 380, c. 8, had restricted the age at which Virgins might be veiled to forty years. If the system

[35] St. Basil, *Ep. Canon.* 2 (199, 18).

were worked evenly there was a considerable advantage in it. The vow would not be taken until the Virgin was well able to make up her mind as to her vocation, especially in a climate like that of Spain, where youth departs comparatively quickly; and the penalty for breach of the vow was extremely deterrent. Nor does the Council of Saragossa stand alone in this requirement. That no Virgin should be veiled younger than forty years was made a civil law by the Emperor Majorian in A.D. 458 ('Nov.' 6. 12) and a severe penalty imposed on all concerned in veiling her; and the same age was mentioned by the Council of Agde, A.D. 506, c. 19. It is also ascribed in the 'Liber Pontificalis' to Pope Leo I.[36]

Another age which was not uncommonly fixed in the West was that of twenty-five years. This is the rule of the Third Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, c. 4, and accepted by the Council of Frankfort, A.D. 754, c. 46, and others, but with a permission to shorten the time under certain circumstances.

A much earlier age was fixed by St. Basil, who was an enthusiast in this matter. He was willing to admit Virgins to profession of the age of sixteen or seventeen years ('Ep.' 199, 18),[37] and yet he treated a breach of

[36] 'Hic quoque constituit ut monacha non acciperet velaminis capitis benedictionem nisi probata fuerit in virginitate annis quadraginta.' See below, note 42. The law of Majorian was, however, repealed by his successor, Severus.

[37] Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* Lib. II. c. vi. § § 3, 4, tries to reconcile the discrepancy by making the first profession at the early age and the second at twenty-five or forty; but though this might have been wise, it does not seem historical. It appears.

this immature resolution as a sufficient cause for dissolving a marriage contracted by a 'canonical' person ('Ep.' 188, 6 : A.D. 374). This last expression seems to cover Widows and Deaconesses as well as Virgins, but to be at any rate applicable to the latter. He allowed that the old Church law only imposed a year's penance, that of digamists (199, 18), but he considered that the Church was now able to accept and impose a stricter discipline. The sixteenth Canon of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, looks at first as if it were equally strict. It declares that a Virgin who has dedicated herself to God, and a Solitary (*μονάζοντα*) in like manner, are not permitted to marry, and if they do so they are to be put out of communion. But it goes on to give the Bishop of the place power to remit their penance at his discretion. This is, of course, very different from the Spanish rule. The last canon which we need mention on the part of the Greek Church is that of the Trullan Council, A.D. 692, c. 40, which actually reduces the age at which the monastic life may be entered from St. Basil's sixteen or seventeen to ten. That Virgins are intended as well as Monks is not, however, quite clear.

As regards the obligation of the resolution in the West, the writer of the tract 'De Lapsu Virginis,' which appears in the writings of St. Ambrose, is of the same opinion as St. Basil. He rejects any appeal to the Pauline (1 Cor. vii. 9) 'melius est nubere quam uri' (ch. v. 21) as only referring to those who had

indeed, as part of a series of steps in the later canonists : see *Dict. Ch. Ant.* s.v. 'Virgins,' p. 2021*a*, by E. Hatch.

not taken the veil, and treats the lapse as adultery. There is, however, some reason to believe that this tract is not by the Bishop of Milan but by the Dacian Bishop Nicetas of Remesiana, to whom the *Te Deum* is also sometimes ascribed.[38] There are, nevertheless, certain genuine treatises of St. Ambrose which, without touching this point, show that he gave currency to the underlying thought of the spiritual marriage between the consecrated Virgin and her Saviour,[39] making great use of the language of the Song of Songs.

It is, no doubt, chiefly to the thought that professed Virginity is a spiritual marriage, that we owe the inference that any lapse from Virginity, even into a regular and honourable marriage, is to be treated as adultery. St. Augustine, fortunately, did not accept the hazardous inference. He probably remembered St. Cyprian's words: he certainly cannot have forgotten his own experience of youthful temptation, and he saw the husband's side of the question. He expressly teaches that such marriages are true marriages and not adulteries. What is perhaps more remarkable is that Epiphanius practically held the same view with Augustine, though he desired a lengthy penance. Even Jerome, at least in one passage, seems to take the line of Cyprian.[40]

[38] The authorship had long been doubted, (1) on grounds of style, (2) because Nicetas was known to have written a tract with this title. Fresh evidence of direct MS. attribution to Nicetas has been discovered: see E. Hatch, *Dict. Chr. Ant.* s.v. 'Virgins,' p. 2021 *a*.

[39] *De Virginibus ad Marcellinam*, I. vii. 37, 'Sponsa es regis aeterni.' Cp. *De Lapsu Virginis*, 5: 'Immortali nupsisti viro.'

[40] Aug. *De Bono Viduit.* 10: 'Qui dicunt talium nuptias non esse nuptias sed potius adulteria non mihi videntur satis acute ac dili-

The contemporary First Council of Valence, A.D. 374, c. 2, takes very much the line of Epiphanius. Its language may be quoted as it is rather technical. 'Concerning Maidens (*puellis*) who have vowed themselves to God, if they have of their own accord passed over to earthly nuptials, we have decreed that this rule should be observed, both that penance should not be given to them at once and that, after it has been given, unless they have made full amends (*satisfecerint*) to God, their communion should be delayed as far as the circumstances of the case (*ratio*) demand.' The matter is here left to the Bishops, as it was afterwards in the East by the Council of Chalcedon, and can hardly be supposed to imply a lifelong penance in any case. In fact the Council seems afraid that the matter will be too lightly and quickly dealt with: but it is unwilling to specify any time of public penance, remembering, no doubt, that the circumstances of such persons as it refers to vary very largely.

genter considerare quid dicant.' He goes on to notice the injustice done to their husbands. Cp. Epiph. *Haer.* 61, 7, who says it is better to have one sin and not an abundant number—better for a celibate who has fallen to have a lawful wife, and to be received to communion after adequate penance, than to be perpetually tempted. These words of Epiphanius are taken by Kraus, *Realencyk.* s.v. 'Jungfrauen,' p. 81 *a*, as only referring to those who have made a resolution of continence, and not to professed celibates; and he is severe on Bingham for taking them generally. But I think that Bingham is right, though the text offers a certain difficulty of interpretation. Jerome writes, *to Demetrias*, *Ep.* 97, that certain persons disgrace the name of Virgins: 'Quibus aperte dicendum est ut aut nubant si se non possunt continere, aut contineant si nolunt nubere.' Cp. *to Eustoch.* 22, 9, and *Ep.* 77, 3; also, in somewhat different tone, *Ep.* 79, 10, *to Salvina.*

On the whole, then, we may say that, though Bingham (vii. 4, 4) rather overstates the case when he says 'that there was never any Church decree for rescinding or pronouncing null such marriages'—since the Council of Toledo enjoins separation—yet the balance of evidence is against very severe treatment of the breach of a resolution of Virginity. Where lifelong penance is enjoined by any Council, except the exceptionally rigorous Council of Elvira, it is balanced by precautions taken in the same Church (as in Spain) against the too early admission of a Virgin to make a vow. In other cases apparent severity is mitigated by leaving the Bishops to fix the term of penance, as in the Councils of Valence and Chalcedon. In others no penance is prescribed, as apparently by St. Augustine.

The author of the tract 'De Lapsu Virginis' and St. Basil stand very much alone as treating the vow exactly on the footing of the marriage vow, and as prescribing that at whatever age it was taken (in Basil's case practically any time after the 'age of consent') a breach of it was to be considered as equal to adultery.

The Roman Church seems to have begun to legislate on the subject a little after the time of St. Jerome's residence in the City. That solemn consecration was in use at Rome we know from the case of Marcellina, sister of St. Ambrose, who was veiled by Pope Liberius (A.D. 352–366) while she was still young, on the anniversary of the birth of Christ—that is, I presume, on our Christmas Day. But the earliest definite regulation on the subject seems to be in the answers to questions from the Bishops of Gaul which are

assigned sometimes to Siricius (A.D. 384–398), sometimes to Innocent I. (402–417). In these rules, as we should expect in Roman legislation, a clear distinction is drawn between Virgins who have been veiled and those who have not. In the first case one who has broken her vow must be a penitent for a very long time ('annis quam plurimis deflendum ei peccatum est')—though not, apparently, for life. Others, not veiled, must not be quickly admitted to communion, and no distinction is to be made whether the marriage was willing or forced.[41]

Innocent I., in more statesmanlike language, repeats much the same regulations, forbidding one who has been veiled and has lapsed to communicate until after her husband's death: *i.e.* he treats the act of marriage as one of adultery. But an unveiled Virgin who has only made a promise to God is to be treated as having broken a *bona-fide* contract, and to do penance for a considerable period ('Ep. 2 ad Victricium Rotomag.' 15, 16). In the time of Pope Leo I. (A.D. 440–461) the treatment of veiled Virgins was probably established;[42] he answers a correspondent

[41] These answers are to be found in the collections of Councils, and in Coustant under Siricius, *Ep.* x. Langen follows him, *Gesch. der R. K.* i. 641 foll. Hefele, i. § 114, puts them under Innocent I., A.D. 402. The wild language of the second rule seems more like Siricius. Canon 11 is often cited as prohibiting the marriage of cousins. It has, however, in my opinion, been altered contrary to the obvious meaning of the words, which is to forbid marriage with an uncle's wife, but to *permit* that with a first cousin.

[42] It is not necessary to mention the severe civil laws dealing with this subject, which probably fell into disuse on account of their extravagance. They may be found in *Cod. Theod.* ix. 25.

that those who had taken the dress and made the resolution of Virginity, though not veiled, were guilty of double-dealing (*praevaricatio*) if they married, thus taking up the metaphor suggested by Innocent ('Ep. 168, ad Rusticum Narbon.' *inquis.* 18). Leo also, it is said, forbade anyone to be veiled before she was forty years of age ('Lib. Pontif.' 47).

These canons and rescripts, especially the later ones, emphasise the 'taking the veil' as the important moment. It was in fact the one evident outward sign of profession, and was given in the West by Bishops alone,[43] and with much of the circumstance of a marriage. The ordinary name of this veil was in the East μαφόριον, and in the West *maforium*, *mafors*, or *mavors*. It was a cowl or head-covering which was used both by Monks and by Virgins, and came down over the shoulders. This appears to have been different from the ordinary veil referred to by Tertullian, and to have belonged to self-dedicated Virgins; and probably it was originally of a dark colour like the robe. But as the bridal metaphor became more emphatic the veil of consecrated Virgins came to be sometimes called in the West by the same name as that used in the marriage ceremony—*flammeum*.[44] In the case of

[43] The custom is seen in the cases of Marcellina and Demetrias (Hieron. *Ep.* 130, 2). Various Councils prohibit Presbyters to act, the first being 2 Carth. 3 (*circa* 387-390). The Third of Carthage, A.D. 397, c. 36, forbids Presbyters to consecrate Virgins 'non consulto episcopo.' Presbyters are prohibited also in later Councils: 2 Hispal., A.D. 618, c. 7; 7 Rotom., A.D. 650, c. 9; 6 Paris., A.D. 829, i. 41, 43; and, I venture to think, rightly and wisely.

[44] Jerome uses 'flammeum' or 'flammeus' in the *Epistle to Demetrias*, 130, 2, and *to Sabinian*, 147, 6 ('post Apostoli Petri basilicam

married women, as its name implies, it was originally of a bright yellow colour: but probably the shape rather than the colour was followed for Virgins. Their *flammeum* appears to have been violet or lilac.

The days chosen for the veiling of Virgins were the great Church festivals, especially Easter;[45] and the ceremony was an impressive one, being united at Easter with the reception of the newly-baptised bearing tapers in their hands. Other details may be gathered from the tract 'De Lapsu Virginis' and Jerome's 'Epistle to Demetrias' ('Ep.' 130, 2).

In St. Jerome's days the Bishop, after words of prayer, covered the Virgin's head with the veil, reciting as he did so St. Paul's words (1 Cor. xi. 2) 'I wish to present you all as a chaste virgin to Christ.' The Virgin was apparently dressed in

in qua Christi flammeo consecrata est'). The colour of the veil of Christian Virgins is probably to be gathered from Jerome's satirical description of it as 'hyacinthina laena' (from Persius, i. 32) in his letter to *Eustochium*, 22, 13, where the word 'maforte' is probably a gloss. They seem to have had a narrow purple stripe on the robe (Hieron. *ib.*). This is confirmed by a wall-painting in St. Priscilla's Church, reproduced from Bosio in Kraus, *Realenc.* s. v. 'Jungfrauen,' fig. 57, which represents a seated Bishop stretching his right hand over the right shoulder of a young woman with short curly hair, on whose robe there is such a stripe. She stands with her back or right side towards him, and holds in her two hands what is probably the maforium; a younger man stands behind her, probably the Deacon of the Bishop. This standing for consecration agrees with the rule for monks in *Eccl. Hier.* c. 6 (above, p. 61). Cp. the similar figure of a young man standing with his back to a seated Bishop (?), who touches his head, Kraus, *s.v.* 'Ordination,' p. 544, from S. Hermes.

[45] St. Ambrose, *Exhort. Virg.* 7, speaks of Easter as the usual time; Gelasius, *Decretum Generale*, c. 14, mentions Epiphany, Easter or the Nativity of an Apostle.

beautiful many-coloured garments, like those of the King's daughter in the Psalm. After the veil was put upon her, she said the words of the Song of Songs (i. 4) : 'The King hath brought me into his chambers,' and the choir of her companions made response, 'The King's daughter is all glorious within' (Ps. xlv. 13). The use of the same Psalm, though of another portion of it, is referred to in the tract ascribed to Nicetas ('De L. V.' 19, 20) : 'Adspice, filia, intuere, Virgo, et obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tui, et concupiscet Rex decorem tuum; quia ipse est Dominus Deus tuus' (verses 11, 12). Some kind of 'sponsio' or marriage promise is also implied; and an address was given (no doubt by the Bishop)—like that of Liberius to Marcellina, of which St. Ambrose has preserved the memory—before the actual veiling.

I mention these details because they do not appear in the earliest Sacramentaries that have been preserved to us. The oldest prayers that have come down to us are the 'Leonine,' consisting, as usual, of a short Collect and a longer Eucharistia. The Collect is as follows : 'Respice, Domine, propitius super has famulas tuas, ut virginitatis sanctae propositum, quod te inspirante suscipiunt, te gubernante custodiant.' This Collect may have been at one time the only prayer used. The Eucharistia or Consecratio expands this primitive thought at considerable length, and, while it recognises the ancient honour of matrimony, praises our Lord for those sublimer souls who despise the actual union of man and wife, and prefer the mystery

symbolised by marriage to the actual partnership. It begins with words which form its title: 'Deus castorum corporum benignus habitator et incorruptarum Deus amator animarum,' and it has had a long history, which we must try in some degree to trace. It praises God for giving those present the desire of the angelic life, and specially because 'etiam hoc donum in quasdam mentes de largitatis tuae fonte defluxit ut cum honorem nuptiarum nulla interdicta minuissent, et super sanctum coniugium initialis benedictio permaneret, existerent tamen sublimiores animae quae in viri ac mulieris copula fastidirent conubium, concupiscerent sacramentum, nec imitarentur quod nuptiis agitur, sed diligerent quod nuptiis praenotatur. Agnovit auctorem suum beata virginitas, et, aemula integritatis angelicae, illius thalamo, illius cubiculo, se devovit qui sic perpetuae virginitatis est Sponsus quemadmodum perpetuae virginitatis est filius.'

The same prayers exist in the 'Gelasian' book, but with an addition of eight or nine printed lines at the end of the 'Consecratio,' which may have been omitted by mere carelessness by the transcriber of the 'Leonine.' The point is a curious one and open to discussion, but of little importance for our present purpose.

These prayers, with the Gelasian completion, are incorporated in the Roman Pontifical in the service for the Blessing of Virgins (*i.e.* Nuns), but as usual in that book, with many accretions before and after

them. Among the additional ceremonies are those of the ring and crown or necklace, taken from the rites of marriage. It would perhaps be difficult to trace these latter ceremonies higher than the thirteenth century, when they are explained by Durandus in his 'Rationale' (II. i. 44 foll.). They are found also in some of the later 'Ordines,' printed by Martene, lib. ii. c. vi.—*e.g.* Rheims, p. 534; Aix, p. 541; Mainz, p. 543, and Auxerre, p. 545: all about this date. I should be inclined to connect them with the parallel movement in art which made the Coronation of the Virgin so popular a subject among the Franciscans, but which began, I suppose, in the twelfth century.[46]

The Gallican rite is ascertained with general accuracy by putting together the forms in the 'Missale Francorum' (p. 311, Mabillon) and the 'Missale Gallicanum Vetus' (p. 332), and subtracting from them what is known to be Roman—the 'Deus castorum corporum,' which occurs in the first.[47] The result, however, is not quite certain, as there are differences between them which are not accounted for by this comparison. The most important of these differences is that, outside of the Roman prayer, there is no reference to spiritual marriage in the 'Missale Francorum.' That in the other Gallican book is less emphatic than the Leonine, but it is

[46] There is a remarkable early outline wall-painting of this subject in the little Somersetshire church of Sutton Bingham, near Yeovil.

[47] The result may be seen in Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 410 foll., but without indication of the special sources of each part.

perfectly decisive as to the animus of the rite.[48] The 'Missale Francorum' also alone contains the words on giving the veil which have passed into modern forms: 'Accipe, puella, pallium quod perferes sine macula ante tribunal Domini nostri Iesu Christi, cui flectit omne genu caelestium et terrestrium et infernorum.' These words were also used in substance at the clothing of the newly-baptised in the white garment. They show that the ceremonies of Baptism, assimilating the neophytes to the Wise Virgins of the parable, were adopted in some forms as the ceremonies of marriage were in others.

But when we come to the Supplements to the (Gregorian) 'Sacramentary of Hadrian,' added in France in the ninth century, perhaps by Alcuin,[49] we find that a very remarkable reform has taken place. All reference to spiritual marriage has been cut out from the 'Deus castorum corporum,' and no other words of the same character are found in other parts of the service. There can be no mistake in

[48] The words on this point follow the opening address in the *Miss. Gall. Vet.* p. 332: 'Qui virginitatem ideo plus intueris et diligis quia tibi origo virginitas, quique in hunc mundum natus ex virgine id in aliis probas quod in matre elegisti, atque ideo aptissime tibi sponso vir[gini?] sponsam virginem dedicamus: tu, Domine, tribue hanc puellae iam tuae semper optabilem magno proposito perseverantiam.' For the MS. 'vir' Mabillon suggests 'vir[ginum]': I prefer 'vir[gini].'

[49] I have to thank Mr. H. A. Wilson for information about the relation of these books to one another. See his learned edition of the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. liii. foll. The conjecture about Alcuin is due to Micrologus, *De Eccl. Obs.* c. 60. The texts actually referred to by me are those of Ménard in *P. L.* 78, col. 173, Muratori, iii. p. 184, the Lorraine Missal (Leofric A), p. 227, ed. Warren; cp. Egbert (Surtees Soc.), pp. 108–110.

calling this a reform, because the compiler must have had before him the Gelasian, if not the Leonine, text, and the old Gallican prayer-books. The reformer may have been Alcuin or, as I am inclined to imagine, Alcuin adopting some earlier formulas; but his work deserves attention, and its character has never, as far as I am aware, been brought to public notice in modern times. It shows that some one of great influence felt just the same anxiety about exaggerations of feeling that we might do. It is curious that our earliest English Pontifical, that ascribed to Egbert, puts the longer and the shorter form of the 'Deus castorum corporum' side by side. Its date is uncertain, but if part of it really be Egbert's (Archbishop of York 732–766) Alcuin may have borrowed the shorter form from his old master at York.[50]

I will conclude with a few practical words. No one who has followed the recent history of the Church of England can doubt the value of the work done by Sisterhoods, which are the modern representatives of the early order of Virgins in the Church. In Penitentiaries and Reformatories, in Hospitals and Infirmaries, and in a less degree in Schools, they have taken an honoured place which is generally conceded to them without prejudice or objection; but they have no canonical status in the Church. From time to time there are difficulties as to discipline, difficulties of temper, difficulties

[50] Egbert's Pontifical is contained in a manuscript of the National Library at Paris, no. 10575, which Delisle attributes to the eleventh century. Much of the matter is no doubt older. *V.s.* p. 99.

as to ritual and doctrine; there are also difficulties experienced as to the obligation created by entrance into a Sisterhood. The Church of England must shortly legislate with these difficulties in view, and is expecting the report of a Committee of the Lambeth Conference of 1897 on the subject (see Appendix C). Let me suggest a few rules based on experience.

A clear distinction should be drawn between professed and unprofessed Sisters. No profession should be permitted except before a Diocesan Bishop, having jurisdiction over the community,[51] or his Commissary, in accordance with the canons already cited, p. 295 n. 43; and after it has been made, it should be clearly laid down by canon that the same Bishop or his successor should have the right, on cause shown, to release the Sister from her promise. The profession should be one in general terms and should, as far as possible, be the same for all Sisterhoods. It might take the form of a promise to the Bishop to serve God and the Church as a Sister—under the Rule of such and such a community. For this purpose the Benedictine form above referred to (p. 213): 'Promittat de stabilitate sua et conversione morum suorum et obedientia coram Deo et sanctis eius' (*P.L.* 56, p. 805, c. 58), is a suitable model. All perpetual promises made to anyone except the Bishop having canonical authority in the matter should be forbidden, and, if made, should be declared null and void *ab initio*.

[51] I do not mean to offer a definite opinion whether this must be the Bishop of the Diocese in which the House is situated, though I think it almost essential as regards the Mother House.

The Constitutions of the Sisterhoods should be printed and made accessible to all concerned, and all secret Rules or vows should be declared void : power being, however, given to the Bishop of the day to authorise by-laws which did not deal with principles, on the application of the Sisterhood and its Council.

Sisterhoods which accepted this position should have some guarantee of stability given to them by the Bishop acting with the Cathedral Chapter. They should not be dissoluble or put under disabilities by the mere will of a Bishop for the time being : but some power of Dissolution or Visitation *proprio motu* should be held in reserve. Probably an appeal to the Archbishop of the Province would be sufficient as a check upon any unfair treatment.

As regards the age when lifelong profession should be made, I should myself prefer that of forty as likely to cause no complications : and I should absolutely refuse to profess anyone under the age of twenty-five years. The matter of age should certainly be regulated by canon for the whole Church.

As regards the service to be used, there should only be one and that public, and it should not be an imitation of the marriage service.

Christian Virgins are Handmaids of the Church, the only true Bride of Christ, called to wait upon the Lord 'without distraction' ; and they should be taught to check the dangerous element of fancy which has been in the past and may be again in the future encouraged by the enthusiastic use of the bridal metaphor.

VI

THE CHRISTIAN DAY AND THE CHRISTIAN WEEK: SUNDAY—WEDNESDAY, FRIDAY AND SATURDAY—DAILY EUCHARIST AND DAILY OFFICES.

THE Church was at first entirely composed of converts from Judaism and it was more than twenty years, probably, after the Ascension of our Lord before the Council of Jerusalem set the Gentiles free from the observance of the Jewish ceremonial law. We have a right, therefore, to look to Jewish conceptions for an explanation of many details in the arrangement of Christian worship, particularly in that part of it which touches its foundations in the daily and weekly services.

Two points, I think, stand out in this earliest period. First, that the most primitive Christians, like the Jews, began their day at sunset, and thought in the order 'night and day,' not 'day and night.' Secondly, that the Sunday service grew out of that on the Sabbath evening, and was at first either confined to a continuation of it into or through the night or was followed, after an interval of repose, by an early service on Sunday. Sunday afternoon or evening services

were at first unknown, except in any particularly devout places where daily service was held.

It is interesting to notice that St. Mark and St. Paul always speak of 'night and day' in the Jewish fashion. St. John in his Gospel, on the contrary, shows a knowledge and acceptance of the Roman civil day, which began at midnight, and in his Apocalypse five times uses the expression 'day and night.' St. Luke's usage varies between the two.[1]

As regards the frequency of services during the week, the majority of inquirers are, I think, agreed that, from whatever causes, daily public worship did not exist generally among the Christians of the Apostolic ages. Private prayer was of course a duty carefully attended to daily, and Wednesday and Friday were perhaps observed as fasts by stricter Christians when they began to distinguish themselves from the stricter Jews, who fasted on Mondays and Thursdays.[2]

[1] The passages are: St. Mark iv. 27, v. 5, 2 Cor. xi. 25 (*νυχθήμερον*), 1 Thess. ii. 9, iii. 10, 2 Thess. iii. 8, 1 Tim. v. 5, 2 Tim. i. 3. St. Luke has 'night and day,' ii. 37, Acts xx. 31, xxvi. 7; and 'day and night,' xviii. 7, Acts ix. 24. The passages of St. John are: i. 40, iv. 6, 52, xi. 9, xix. 14, cp. xx. 19; those in the Apocalypse: iv. 8, vii. 15, xii. 10, xiv. 11, xx. 10. It is interesting to notice that the forms for the ordination of a Bishop vary somewhat similarly. That in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, which we have reason to connect with Rome, and the *Testament of our Lord* (i. 21), which we connect with Asia Minor, both speak of his service 'by day and night'; the *Egyptian Church Order*, the *Didascalia* (Hauler), and the *Constitutions* (both forms) have all 'by night and day.' This is one of those seemingly slight evidences which are really very strong confirmations of the conjectural history of these books.

[2] Cp. St. Luke xviii. 12, and *Didaché*, viii. 1, and further references below, note 21, p. 327.

Some recognition of the Sabbath may also have been early, as it certainly was general, though with varied observance, in the fourth century. But Holy Communion on Sunday seems to have been universal and continuous from a very early period ;[3] and the only public service everywhere attended.

I have said that daily public prayer did not exist generally among Christians. There was one remarkable exception, however—the Church of Jerusalem. Not only did many of the Christians of this Church attend the daily services of the Temple, possibly at sunrise and sunset and certainly at the evening sacrifice (3 P.M.) but, as St. Luke tells us (Acts ii. 46, cp. 42), 'Day by day continuing steadfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home, they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favour with all the people.'

These words, which have been variously understood, seem to me to picture a very simple liturgical service connected with the common meals of the Christian society at Jerusalem—meals having a sacred character, just as those of the Essenes had, though they differed not a little in their meaning and import from those of that narrow sect.[4]

I have said 'a very simple liturgical service'; and I am indeed inclined to think that the Lord's Prayer

[3] Acts xx. 7, 1 Cor. xvi. 2, Rev. i. 10—the latter very probably referring to an inspiration that came on the author during divine service.

[4] There is a very remarkable account of the Essene meals in Josephus, *Wars*, ii. 8, 5.

sufficed as the only necessary form at such a celebration as this, and that other prayers would be added, half *ex tempore* and half from memory, according to the power of the President. Indeed, it was a long time before these prayers became fixed, not in fact apparently till the third, and in many places not till the fourth, century. As we shall see, it is only the last book of the 'Apostolic Constitutions' (viii. 35–39) that gives the text of the daily prayers. Eucharistic prayers were certainly in some cases fixed a good deal earlier.

What, then, does St. Luke mean when he says in the same passage, a little before the verse just quoted: 'They continued steadfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers' (ii. 42)? As far as 'the prayers' outside the Lord's Prayer were fixed, they probably consisted of Psalms, which were the only formal public prayers of the Jewish people and the only set prayers of the Christian Church for a long period, except the Lord's Prayer. We do not know with any certainty what Psalms were chosen; yet we can see that it is quite possible that later tradition may have preserved a more correct reminiscence in regard to the Psalter than in other matters. What was appropriate in the Psalms was on the surface in the following cases (see above, p. 202). Ps. 63, 1, 'O God, thou art my God, early will I seek thee,' suggested its usage at the beginning of the day. Ps. 141, 2, 'Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice' had its obvious appropriateness.

Ps. 23, 5, 'Thou shalt prepare a table before me.' Ps. 34, 8, 'O taste, and see, how gracious the Lord is,' and the latter part of 22, *e.g.* 16, 'The meek shall eat and be satisfied,' and 145, 15, 16, 'The eyes of all wait upon thee, O Lord, and thou givest them their meat in due season. Thou openest thine hand and fillest all things living with plenteousness,' would all have been as fitting for Eucharistic use in the first as in the fourth or any later century. Other verses of Psalms, such as 55, 18, 'In the evening and morning and at noonday will I pray'; 113, 3, 'The Lord's name is praised: from the rising up of the sun unto the going down of the same'; and 119, 62, 'At midnight I will rise to give thanks to thee,' and 164, 'Seven times a day will I praise thee,' were clearly influential in determining the hours first of private and then of semi-public or public prayer.[5]

But over and above this general influence of the Psalter on Christian worship I must notice Professor Bickell's theory connecting the Hallel Passover Psalms (115–118 and 136), first with the Last Supper as described by the Evangelists, and then with the Apostolic Liturgy as restored by conjecture (see

[5] Cp. the subscription to Ps. 72: 'The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended,' showing that the first two of the five books of the Psalter had the title 'prayers' (t^{e}philloth). Each day of the week had its Psalm according to Jewish tradition (those marked with a * being noted in the LXX), viz. *Sunday, Ps. 24; *Monday, 48; Tuesday, 82; *Wednesday, 94; Thursday, 81; *Friday, 93; *Sabbath, 99. See Schürer, *Gesch. des Jüd. V. im Zeitalter Christi*, ii. p. 237, n. 249.

Bickell in Kraus, 'Realenc.' s.v. *Liturgie*, p. 310 foll.). According to this theory Ps. 115 (omitting verses 1–11) answers to our Lord's act in taking Bread and Wine; Ps. 116 (also omitting 1–11), to our Lord's prayer of oblation (εὐχαριστήσας), only recorded by St. Luke, 22, 17; Ps. 136, 25 ('who giveth food to all flesh'), to our Lord's Consecrating prayer, described as 'Eulogia' or 'Eucharistia,' which Bickell apparently supposes was like that of the ordinary Jewish blessing, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the World, who hast created the fruit of the Vine, for ever. Amen'; and similarly for the Bread.

The relation of these Psalms to the supposed Apostolic Liturgy is also worked out with ingenuity. Ps. 115 gives place to the Collect; Ps. 116 to the Prayer of Oblation (Secreta); Ps. 117–118 to the Preface; Ps. 136 to the Canon.

The weak part of the resemblance is in Psalms 115 and 136: though it must be confessed that the refrain 'for his mercy endureth for ever' in the latter might have suggested the response of the Litany, 'O Lord, have mercy.' On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Ps. 116, 12–19 is the germ of much liturgical language—'the cup of salvation' and the 'sacrifice of thanksgiving'—and that the *Hosanna* and the *Benedictus* come from Ps. 118, 25, 26. Whether we accept the other details of this theory or not, there is enough of truth in it to confirm my conjecture that the public prayers of the Christians of Jerusalem consisted chiefly of appro-

priate Psalms or portions of Psalms, and of prayers based on Psalms.

It is possible that the stated times of prayer thus indicated by St. Luke in the Acts, as being kept under the direction of the Apostles, were (1) that of an evening meal at which the Eucharist was celebrated, with more solemnity on Saturday night and Sunday morning, and less formally on other days; (2) an hour of early morning prayer before going out to work; and (3) one at a mid-day meal. For, if the first disciples in the Holy City 'had all things common,' they must, like the Essenes, of whom Josephus gives much the same report, have met to take food together twice a day. Their meetings were all religious, and something of prayer and praise must have accompanied the mid-day meal, though it may have been held with much less solemnity than the more leisurely gathering at supper time. It is not necessary to suppose that all met in the Upper Room on Mount Sion; though that was no doubt one meeting place, and the principal one before the Holy Sepulchre came into Christian hands in the time of Constantine. Probably every large house of which the head was a Christian had its gathering of accustomed guests and worshippers, continuing the habits of Passover friendliness and religious hospitality. It may be that even some Synagogues passed into Christian hands. But in any case the Synagogue spirit was largely assimilated, and we know that, at a later date, morning, noon and night were the regular hours of Synagogue prayer (Epiph. 'Haer.' xxix. 9).

The hours of Temple prayer would also influence Jewish Christians, whether they had left the City or were still resident in it. The Apostles clearly observed the hour of evening sacrifice, the ninth hour (3 P.M.). This was kept, not only by St. Peter and St. John at Jerusalem (Acts iii. 1), but by Cornelius, a Jewish adherent, at his home (x. 6, 30). That is to say, it was observed by Jews and Christians alike. The other Jewish hours of Temple service were naturally sunrise, at which the morning sacrifice was offered, and sunset, when the lamps were lighted.[6] These, as I have suggested, were probably part of the common life of Jerusalem Christians in their own homes or churches. But besides these, Christian piety specially noted the third hour (9 A.M.) at which the Holy Spirit came down at Pentecost (Acts ii. 15) and (as has been already suggested) the sixth hour or mid-day, at which St. Peter went up on the housetop, at Joppa, to pray (x. 9) just before his mid-day meal. It was not a great stretch, in thought at least, to increase these five hours —sunrise, third, sixth, and ninth hours and sunset— by adding two in the night—midnight and cockcrow —as times at which prayer would naturally be helpful, and so to make 'seven times' a day: though I must acknowledge that evidence is wanting on this last point of numeration.[7]

[6] On the hours of Jewish Temple worship see Schürer, *l.c.* ii. p. 237, note 248.

[7] There is, I believe, no evidence that this interpretation was at any time given to Ps. 119, 164, 'seven times a day will I praise thee.' That given at a later date was one which separated the day from the night hours. But Cyprian goes near to an enumeration

Apart from the Church of Jerusalem, then, we have as ordinary Christian observances, I., the Saturday night and early Sunday morning service including the Eucharist, the only universal public service in the week ; and, II., the observance of Wednesday and Friday as fast days to which public services in time came to be attracted, and a possible observance of the Sabbath ; and, III., the sanctification of each day by certain hours of prayer, with or without Holy Communion, but not, at first, of public prayer except when the Liturgy was celebrated.

There is something of interest to be said on all these three heads ; and it will be convenient to say it in the order just indicated.

I. First, then, of the Sunday Eucharist: its hours and the character of its worship.

The key to most of the early developments of the Eucharist is to be found in the Christian conception of the Lord's Day as a weekly commemoration of the Resurrection—that is, as a sort of minor Easter Day. And in connection with this the thought seems instinctively to have arisen that our Lord would come again during the night, at or about the time of His Resurrection. Just as the Jews at the Paschal

which would reach it in his *De Orat. Dom.* 34–36—where he first mentions the third, sixth, and ninth hours, as observed by Daniel and his companions, and gives Christian and Scriptural reasons for following them (ch. 34), and then says that they have been increased for Christians by necessary prayers at morning and evening (35), and then that we must not cease from praying, even during the night (36).

feast still place a cup of wine for Elijah, Messiah's forerunner, and expect the Messiah Himself to come in the middle of the night when the feast is over,[8] so at the beginning of each new week, and especially at Easter, the early Church expected the Advent of her King and Saviour. The thought of the reverential awe which befitted such expectation seems to underlie St. Paul's teaching on the Lord's Supper addressed to the profane people of the Corinthian Church: 'Ye do show [or proclaim] the Lord's death till He come' (1 Cor. xi. 26). This surely, too, was the meaning of the Eucharistic watchword 'Maran-athá' 'The Lord is come' (1 Cor. xvi. 22, 'Didaché,' x. 4), or 'The Lord is at hand' (ὁ Κύριος ἔγγυς, Phil. iv. 5) and perhaps of the *Hosanna*, which has early as well as later liturgical associations.[9] With this, too, we

[8] See St. Jerome on St. Matt. iv. 25, and cp. Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* p. 416, and T. L. Kingsbury, *Spiritual Sacrifice and Holy Communion*, note Z.

[9] In the *Didaché* 'Maranatha' follows closely after 'Hosanna to the God of David' in a prayer after reception. With the whole thought compare Rev. iii. 20: 'Behold I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me,' and St. James v. 8, 9: 'The coming of the Lord draweth nigh. . . . Behold the Judge standeth at the door.' *Hosanna* is not mentioned by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, nor is it found in the Liturgy of Sarapion (*circa* A.D. 350), but it is found with the *Benedictus*, in the Liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 12, p. 259, Lagarde) as a prelude to communion. The original position may have been that of the *Didaché*, just after communion, then just before communion, and then, as in 'St. James' and later Liturgies, as an appendix to the 'Sanctus.' Cp. Brightman on Sarapion, *Journal of Th. Studies*, i. p. 96, and Scudamore, *N. E.* ed. 2, 532–3. The *Hosanna* does not seem to have been introduced into the Roman Liturgy till the eighth century, and then, like other Eastern forms, through Gallican influence.

must compare the remarkable prayer for the Lord's Advent upon the Bread and the Cup, with which later piety sought, I presume, to supply the place of the immediate expectation which thrilled the worshippers of the first age.[10]

Our Lord Himself had given a hint about the time of His return—a hint which simple piety had taken literally—when He warned His disciples that He might come in the second or third watch, midnight or cockcrow, the darkest hours of the night (St. Luke xii. 35). The lights burning, the servants waiting for their returning Lord and standing ready, the midnight hours: these were transformed at the Paschal and other vigils into something more than reminders of the necessity of constant watchfulness. It is probable that, in the Apostolic age, up to the fall of Jerusalem, every new week as it began was ushered in with something of a like deep and anxious expectancy, in which the *vota suspirantia* of Christian prophets and spiritual persons of all classes, uttered on the spur of the moment, gradually became shaped into liturgical forms.

The change, however, in the attitude of the Church, which naturally followed the destruction of the Holy City and the passing away of the companions and eyewitnesses of the Lord, was followed, almost as a matter of course, by a change in the hours as

[10] See *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-book* (S.P.C.K.), p. 46 foll., and St. Jerome, *In Sophon.* iii. The idea is perhaps taken from St. Irenaeus, *Haer.* v. 2, 3, where he speaks of the bread and the cup as 'receiving the Word of God.'

well as the order of service. The body of Christ was now called to settle down into a state of quiet labour to prepare the whole world for the Advent, instead of spending its time in excited expectation of its own release from strife. This common-sense attitude, as it may be termed, did not wholly supersede the old prophetic and emotional attitude. That was kept up by the Montanist reaction in the second century and by the ascetic and monastic movements which followed it, and which still largely influence the Church. But for ordinary Christians the last quarter of the first century saw the cessation of the all-night service except on the great festivals or those of local Saints.

The partial transference of the centre of gravity of Christendom from Jerusalem and Antioch to Rome introduced another factor into the department of worship, viz. the adoption of the Roman civil day, which began at midnight. As soon as the Church came to the conclusion that the Lord's Day began after midnight and not at sunset on Saturday evening, the Liturgy would be naturally transferred to some time in the new day,[11] whether the vigil was going on continuously or not.

The first indication of this new arrangement meets us in the account of St. Paul's travels after he had 'set in order' the troubles at Corinth, which had in

[11] I have to thank the Rev. T. S. Rundle, of the Diocese of Exeter, for this suggestion in his little book, *The Scriptural and Primitive Time for the Celebration of Holy Communion* (1898), esp. p. 38. Cp. note 1, above.

some degree been connected with misbehaviour at the Eucharist. When he wrote the first Epistle to the Corinthians the 'Lord's Supper' or Agapé still formed one whole with the Eucharist. It took place, we may presume, like the Paschal Supper, at the beginning of the meeting, and was a scene sometimes of profane and unseemly confusion. But when he came back from Greece by way of Troas, a year or two later, we find him holding an all-night service on the first day of the week, of which the breaking of bread formed a part (Acts xx. 7–12). The day began, as St. Paul's usage elsewhere implies, at sunset on the evening of the Sabbath. The preliminary service, including the Apostle's preaching, continued till midnight. Then followed the accident to Eutychus and his revival: and then at last came the 'breaking of bread' followed by the meal.[12] Whether the 'setting in order' at Corinth had anything to do with this arrangement or not, it is striking that the only account we have of the hour of a Eucharistic service in the Acts puts it after midnight.

The usage here exactly recorded is the natural transition to the custom described by Pliny in his famous letter to Trajan, early in the second century, at a period when and in a district where the Roman civil day appears to have been recognised. The service was still in the night; but, being clearly a Sunday service ('stato die'), it began some time after midnight ('ante lucem'). The common meal,

[12] For this meaning of γευσάμενος, see the references in Alford's commentary.

which at Troas had followed immediately, was now put off till another occasion, perhaps till the Sunday evening.[13] Other notices which have come down to us represent the Sunday Eucharist as usually in daylight, though in the early hours of daylight (*mane*).[14] In times of danger or at certain vigils it might still be before dawn.

Custom dies hard, especially in the Church, and traces of communion at the beginning of the night before the Sunday were found even in the fifth century. It continued in the country parts of Egypt, near Alexandria and in the Thebaid, to the scandal of many in other countries, and, on Maundy Thursday

[13] Plin. *Ep. ad Traianum*, 96, 7: 'Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam culpae suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod adstringere sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum [*i.e.* ordinary] tamen et innoxium.' This letter was written A.D. 111–12. Other evidence as to the time of communion has been collected by Scudamore, *N.E.* ed. 2, pp. 31–6.

[14] The description in Justin Martyr seems to imply daylight. It is affirmed more distinctly by Tertullian as the ordinary practice, *De Fuga in Persecutione*, 14, the night hours for celebration being treated as exceptional, and to be resorted to in times of danger. This is the meaning, too, of the well-known passage *De Corona*, 3: 'Although our Lord instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist at meal-time . . . we take it even in assemblies before dawn' ('etiam antelucanis coetibus'), where the 'etiam,' which is perhaps generally overlooked, implies that the usage was exceptional. St. Cyprian says: 'We celebrate the Lord's resurrection in the morning' (*Ep.* 63, 16). The Easter vigil and that before the birthday of a martyr would, however, be exceptions, and the Liturgy is celebrated by the Greeks at about 1 A.M. in the Holy Sepulchre to this day.

alone in Africa.[15] Also when Wednesday and Friday became liturgical days there was a tendency to put the celebration at 3 P.M. so as not to break the fast of those who were strict: a usage of which we have a trace as early as the time of Tertullian ('De Oratione,' 19). But of communion on Sunday afternoon or evening there is, I believe, no trace. It was introduced into this country some fifty years ago, and has spread partly from a misreading of the evidence of Scripture and tradition; partly from the hope of attracting certain classes of the population who are too busy or too apathetic to attend at the ordinary hour. It is partly maintained as a kind of protest against the excessive emphasis laid on fasting communion in some quarters. The Church in this manner has suffered, as usual, from the conflict of its two extremes, the excesses of one of which seem to the other side to justify a contrary exaggeration.

As regards the hour of communion in our own country and elsewhere in the West, there is a good deal of evidence in favour of 9 A.M. on Sundays as the 'canonical hour,'[16] Mattins having been said

[15] On the Egyptian custom see Socrates, *H. E.* v. 22. The Third Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, c. 29, ordered 'celebrations' by fasting men, 'excepto uno die anniversario quo Coena Domini celebratur.' These words are omitted in the Spanish books: but they were read by the Trullan Council, A.D. 691, c. 29, which abolished the exception. That Council clearly considered the 'celebrants' to be intended, and makes no reference to the communicants, though there is, I presume, no doubt that communicants generally did fast.

[16] See Scudamore, ed. 2, p. 35, for a number of authorities. The only conciliar canon quoted is that of Third Orleans, A.D. 538, c. 14: 'ut

previously. There is also, I venture to think, not a little to be said for returning to it, having also an earlier celebration, say at 7, for those who could not come at the later hour. It would enable those who were weary with a long week's work to rest longer than usual, and would permit those who desire to make some innocent and healthful excursion, or to visit friends, to do so, after service was over at half-past ten, without missing either morning prayer or Holy Communion. The Sunday School in such a case would probably be held after, not before, service. I have for several years held ordinations at this hour (9 A.M.) and find that the strain of fasting is not excessive for those who naturally wish to receive their ordination fasting, as the Apostles Paul and Barnabas did (Acts xiii. 2). It is likely to be excessive, I venture to think, if the service begins at 10.30 or 11 and is not over till between one and two o'clock. Since ordinations with us are on Sundays, we ought to take care not to turn them from feast-days into fast-days.

We have already seen traces of the adaptation of Paschal thoughts to ordinary Sunday celebrations. A minor adaptation, though one of some practical consequence in regard to the perversions to which it is sometimes exposed, is the severe insistence on a previous fast. The rule is older than its canonical

missarum celebritas in praecipuis solemnitatibus hora tertia inchoetur,' the reason given being that priests may be able to be at Vespers. This applies especially to principal feasts. Cp. n. 28.

assertion for celebrants in Africa (III. Carth. 29) in the time of St. Augustine, but its early associations are not satisfactory or at all conclusive as to present practice. The earliest mention of it is in the 'Canons of Hippolytus,' xxviii. 205, where it is couched in the following terms: 'Let none of the faithful taste anything before he has partaken of the mysteries, especially on the days of the sacred fast.' This is clearly not so much a direction to fast in order to make a spiritual preparation for communion, as a direction to begin every day's work and food with a participation of the Eucharist. It is illustrated, of course, by Tertullian's probably contemporary remark to a woman married to a heathen husband, that he will not understand what she eats secretly before she tastes any other food.[17]

There was, of course, no hardship in this rule in the third century, since private reservation was not only permitted but encouraged. All that was needed was to eat the sacred food, kept in a private 'arca' or casket, immediately on rising from sleep. Shortly afterwards the thought was introduced, if not already accepted in the age of Tertullian, that the Eucharist so taken was an antidote against poison, a charm against every accident during the day.[18] Much the

[17] 'Quod secreto ante omnem cibum gustes,' *II. Ad Uxorem*, 5. The translation sometimes suggested, 'before every meal,' is surely mistaken.

[18] It is a mark of the relatively early date of the *Canons of Hippolytus* that this suggestion about the antidote does not appear in it. It is found in the parallels in Hauler's *Didascalia*, lxxviii. p. 117, *Egypt. Ch. O.* Tattam, § 58, *Test. Dom.* ii. 25: 'Sit semper

same feeling led travellers, like Satyrus, to carry it hidden on their person.

The rule remained after the reasons and conditions of Church life which led to it were forgotten; but it has since had such widespread acceptance in the Church that it is both unwise and improper to treat it with neglect or anything like contempt. It is good that the body should take part with the soul in its preparation, yet fasting must not be pressed as if it were a part of the Gospel to the injury of weak consciences, or to the neglect of communion on the part of those who find attendance at an early celebration difficult or impossible; nor must it be allowed to foster an attitude of contempt on the part of the physically stronger towards the physically weaker brethren. Nor must the clergy put it forward as a reason against celebrating by the sick bed, as the positive law of the Church of England bids them do, nor make themselves unfit for work by excessive rigour, nor lie in bed idly when they have to take a late celebration. These things are a kind of superstition as much as treating the Eucharist as an antidote against poison or an amulet against accident.

On the Use of Incense.

Another accessory of the Eucharist, the use of incense, has been of late much discussed among us. At first the Church was naturally shy of using it,

fidelis sollicitus, ut antequam cibum sumat, fiat particeps Eucharistiae ut evadat nesciens laedi.' For Satyrus see St. Ambros. *Oratio in Obitum Fratris*, i. 43. See also the matter collected by Scudamore, ed. 2, pp. 903–7, and Brightman, p. 509, n. 27.

notwithstanding the Scriptural associations connected with it both in the Old and New Testament. It was so closely connected with heathen ritual, and with the temptations to deny the faith offered to Christians in time of persecution, that the notices of its use in Christian worship up to the end of the fourth century are extremely scanty. Two uses, however, seem to be older than others in the Christian Church, which, indeed, are more closely connected than is at first apparent. The first is a use at funerals, which Tertullian himself seems to recognise, though he rejects the ritual use as savouring of heathenism. Christians (he tells us) do not reject frankincense (tura) 'ad solatia sepulturae,' as one of the soothing accessories of funeral rites ('De Idol.' 11, cp. 'Apol.' 42), though they do not buy any as adjuncts to prayer ('Apol.' 30).

This use would naturally lead to its introduction into funeral chapels, partly as a measure of precaution, in what must often have been unwholesome damp and underground buildings, partly as being places where the more superstitious side of Christian worship most quickly developed. This character of the worship in funeral chapels is evident from many utterances of the Fathers, and from the historical records of the action of energetic Bishops drawing congregations away from the dangerous atmosphere of these chapels into the more reasonable and public services of the city churches under their control. The noblest of such memorial chapels was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem—in old

days more fitly called the Anastasis (Resurrection) — and it is in this that we find the first historical record, with which I am acquainted, of the use of incense in public worship as a sort of preparation for the Sunday service. The pilgrim whom we call Silvia visited the Holy City *c.* A.D. 385. She tells us that very early on Sunday morning, at the first cockcrow, the Bishop went down into the Cave in the Anastasis. All the people—who had gathered in the court of the great Basilica of Constantine—followed into the Anastasis, which was brilliantly lighted up (of course not entering the Cave, which then, as now, held only a few persons at once). After three psalms and prayers and the commemoration (Litany), 'censers are brought within the Cave of the Anastasis, so that the whole Basilica of the Anastasis is filled with odours.' Then the Bishop read 'the Resurrection' from the Gospel to the people. More or less informal services went on till daybreak, and then began the regular Sunday services in the Basilica of Constantine; but so long protracted by preaching, first by Presbyters and then by the Bishop, that the service was not over till the fourth or fifth hour (10 or 11 A.M.). The mention of incense in connection with the first service implies that it was not used in those of which the description follows.

This usage at the grave of our Lord on Sunday morning also suggests a probable explanation of the rider to the third 'Apostolic Canon,' which does not seem to be as old as the body of the canon: 'Let it not be lawful that anything else should be brought

to the altar (*or* sanctuary) but oil for the light and incense, at the time of the holy offering.' Both lights and incense belong to the early morning service.[19]

The earliest definite directions for the use of incense *in the Eucharistic Liturgy* contained in any Church Order is in the 'Arabic Didascalia,' which we date *circa* A.D. 400. It is not of course impossible that the direction may be an interpolation, by the translator or some later editor, but it is not improbable that a partial usage of this kind began about this period. It belongs to the preparatory service, but at a somewhat later point than the cockcrow service described at Jerusalem. The book directs the Bishop to go three times round the altar, and the Presbyter to go round the congregation, as part of the Prothesis.

The Liturgy of the Coptic Jacobites mentions a setting of incense on the altar at the beginning of the Mass of the Catechumens, a point only slightly later (Brightman, p. 150). The Liturgy described in the Dionysian writings ('Eccl. Hier.' iii. 2 and 3) has a censing at the same place, before the service begins, beginning from the altar and going all round the holy place. Unfortunately all of these last witnesses are of uncertain date, and three of them have the stamp of pseudepigraphy upon them, and give

[19] This is now numbered 4 in the edition of Dionysius Exiguus. It runs thus: Μὴ ἐξὸν δὲ ἔστω προσάγεσθαί τι ἕτερον εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἢ ἔλαιον εἰς τὴν λυχνίαν καὶ θυμίαμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἁγίας προσφορᾶς. Of course τῷ καιρῷ may mean that the incense is to be *used* at the time of the offering. But at the date of the *Apostolic Canons* incense was hardly used generally at the Eucharist in Syria.

currency to partial and one-sided views of Church order. They are, therefore, not satisfactory supporters of any appeal to Catholic usage. Other supposed allusions, like the phrase 'et nobis adolentibus altaria' in St. Ambrose ('In Luc.' i. 28),[20] may probably be interpreted as metaphorical. The passage sometimes alleged from the 'libel' of Ischyrion against Dioscorus of Alexandria in the case of Peristeria, at Chalcedon (A.D. 451), is seen to have no bearing on the subject when the original Greek is consulted (Labbe, 'Conc.' iv. p. 402). The lists of Constantine's gifts to Roman churches in the 'Liber Pontificalis' (Life of Silvester) are also very doubtful. In any case the early use of incense, even at the Eucharist, was preparatory to the service, not a part of it. It was an adjunct of a procession to make the church sweet before the Liturgy began.

The primitive objection to the use of incense was, as we have seen, that it had associations with heathen sacrifice. The main objection to incense in modern times is that it has no distinct meaning. It is like music without words. It means a good deal to some people, though a different thing to nearly everyone. To the majority it means nothing at all but a pleasant—or sometimes unpleasant—physical sensation. The Church, which is above all things a teaching body, is naturally chary of the use of music without the words necessary to give it a definite point. There is nothing wrong in such music or

[20] Magistretti, *Liturgia Milanese del secolo iv.* takes this literally, p. 95, 1899, comparing the 'grati odores' of *De Cain et Abel*, i. 5, 19.

such use of incense, but it seems to many (whose feelings ought to be considered) alien from the simplicity of Christian worship. Some such sense of fitness has led the Latin Church to restrict the use of incense to a comparatively small number of its celebrations, and has led the Church of England to drop it altogether. If it were now restored among us by authority, it should be, I think, at such high festivals as may more reasonably admit of greater ornament. All censing of persons and things should be omitted, and it should be an accompaniment only of solemn prayer, so as to bring out the symbolism of the Psalms (cxli. 2) and the Apocalypse (viii. 3).

As regards the supposed Catholicity of the practice—if Catholicity is taken in the sense of something universally binding—I will only quote a competent Roman Catholic scholar, Dr. Krieg, on Augusti's assertion to this effect: 'His repeated affirmation that the Catholic Church views the use of incense as essential to the holy sacrifice of the Mass is at once contradicted by the fact that in far the most frequent instances the sacrifice is offered without incense' (in Kraus, 'Realenc.' *s.v.* 'Weihrauch,' p. 971). The Council of Trent merely speaks of it as an edifying ceremony (Sess. xxii. 'De S. Missae,' cap. v.). The manner and frequency of its use are in fact matters for free regulation by every branch of the Catholic Church, just as the use of music is.

II. The habit of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays (as opposed to the Jewish practice of

observing Mondays and Thursdays) is mentioned in the earliest type of Church Order that has come down to us, the 'Didaché.' The practice is also referred to in the second and third centuries by Western and Egyptian writers—at Rome (Hermas? Hippolytus?), in Africa (Tertullian), and especially in Egypt (Clement, Origen, Peter of Alexandria).[21] It, however, finds no place in the other Church Orders or generally in the Eastern Church before the latter part of the fourth century, when it was taken up with a certain vehemence.[22] We may conclude, therefore, with some probability that it was a practice introduced into the West by certain Jewish Christians who desired to be as strict as the Jews, but with a difference; and that it thence spread into Egypt; while it was dropped in the East—perhaps through aversion to Ebionism and its allied forms. Its restoration in the East we may conjecturally refer to Epiphanius, who was familiar with Egypt and Egyptian thought. The description of it as an Apostolic ordinance has very little foundation, and the explanation which attaches it to the events of Holy Week—the conspiracy of the Jews and the Passion—appears to be an explanation

[21] See *Didaché*, viii. 1; Hermas, *Sim.* v. 1, who speaks of 'Stations,' but without mentioning the days; S. Hieron, *Ep.* 71, *ad Lucin.* 6, who speaks of Hippolytus as discussing the subject of daily Eucharist and fasting on Saturdays; Tertull. *De Orat.* 19, *De Ieiuniis*, 14 etc.; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 12, 75; Origen, *Hom.* x. *in Lev.* p. 159, cp. *C. Celsum*, viii. 22; Petr. Alex. *Ep. Can.* 15.

[22] See Epiphanius, *Haer.* 65, 6 (ἐν πᾶσι κλίμασι τῆς οἰκουμένης), *Expos. Fid.* 21: *Ap. Const.* v. 15, *Can. Ap.* 69 (with censure on any clergy who neglected it). St. Basil speaks of Wednesday, Friday and Saturday, as days on which he communicated.

advanced by theologians to account for an existing practice, not the traditional foundation of the practice.[23] Yet we cannot, of course, be sure that the Jewish Christians did not choose these days, especially the Friday, with that view. For the current interpretation of the Lord's word in the Gospel according to St. Mark ('then shall they fast in that day,' ii. 20) might well be extended from the annual to the weekly fast.

These days were observed by Orthodox Christians as half-fasts (*semi-ieiunia*) up to the 9th hour or 3 P.M., or possibly up to what we call 'noon,' *i.e.* mid-day. Their name *Stations* was apparently taken from military language, signifying that the Church was 'on guard' (Tert. 'De Orat.' 19 : *v.i.*, n. 38). They were also liturgical days in Africa in Tertullian's time, but apparently with no difference as to the hour of service. For he meets a rigorist's objection that communion is a breach of the fast, and tells him (not that the service may be later, but) that he may take the Eucharist and reserve it till the hour when the fast is over ('De Orat.' 19). The liturgical hour was, however, in time moved on, no doubt to satisfy such scruples, as we see from the writings of St.

[23] There were two explanations advanced in Egypt : (1) that of Clement, who attaches it to the heathen nomenclature of the days of the week—Wednesday being the day of Mercury, and Friday that of Venus—and says that the true Gnostic fasts all his life from covetousness and lust ; (2) the Gospel explanation, which is first given by Peter of Alexandria, and when taken up by Augustine is treated as giving a reasonable ground for observing these fasts (*Ep.* 86, *ad Casulan.*).

Augustine ('Hom.' 8 in Ps. cxviii. 62). St. Basil also notices these days as liturgical days ('Ep.' 289); but in the Church of Alexandria they had public service as on Sunday, only without the Liturgy (Socr. 'H. E.' v. 22). In the Church of Rome, which constantly agreed in custom with that of Alexandria, Pope Innocent I. in his letter to Decentius, A.D. 414, objects to weekly celebrations on Friday and Saturday, as well as in Holy Week. What the Roman rule was as to Wednesday we do not positively know. On the other hand, Wednesday and Friday were liturgical days in Jerusalem at the end of the fourth century except in Lent.[24]

There was a somewhat similar difference between the Churches as to the observance of Saturday. In the West it was on the whole a day of fasting and non-liturgical. Tertullian notices that in some Churches the fast of Friday was prolonged to Saturday.[25]

The anti-Judaic Marcionites, however, made a special point of fasting on Saturday, and consequently, I presume, the mind of the Eastern Church turned in the other direction, making Saturday a feast-day,

[24] Duchesne, p. 220. The authority seems to be the *Pilgrimage of Silvia* (as printed by Duchesne, p. 479 foll.), who says that on Wednesday and Friday in Lent they went to the Church on Mount Zion at none, 'et omnia aguntur quae consuetudo est ad nonam fieri *praeter oblatio*': see also the end of the section.

[25] 'Continuare ieiunium' (*De Ieiun.* 14), afterwards 'superponere' = ὑπερτίθεσθαι. Cp. Victorinus of Pettau, *De Fabrica Mundi*, *P. L.* 5, p. 304, 306. These *superpositiones* were restricted by the Council of Elvira, c. 23 and 36, to once a month.

even in Lent. Probably the difference was not very marked in the first three centuries, as we find very little notice of it until we come to the writers of the fourth.[26] This leads me to doubt whether the observance of Saturday either as a feast or a fast was really as continuous from primitive times as is perhaps generally imagined. In the fourth century, however, the West, with the exception of Milan, generally treated Saturday as a fast and non-liturgical day; the East, as represented by the Council of Laodicea, the 'Apostolic Constitutions,' Epiphanius and Basil, treat it as a feast and liturgical day.[27] The Churches of Egypt varied between the two. At Alexandria there was service without Liturgy. In the interior of Egypt and the Thebaid there was an evening Liturgy preceded by the Agapé.[28]

The difference between the East and West, though in itself of slight importance, was so marked in the fourth century as evidently to be one of the minor causes of incipient friction, though not so irritating

[26] This is clear if you compare the third century *Didascalia* with the fourth century *Ap. Const.* ii. 59, where the mention of the Sabbath is introduced.

[27] *Conc. Laod.* (of doubtful date), 16 and 49 (cp. 29, which forbids abstinence from work on Saturday, that being the privilege of the Lord's Day); *Ap. Const.* ii. 59, v. 20 *ad finem*, vii. 23, viii. 32 (which contradicts the canon of Laodicea about abstinence from work); Epiphan. *Exp. Fid.* 24; Basil, *Ep.* 289. Cp. Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 8, of Constantinople.

[28] Ath. *Hom. de Semente*; Timoth. Alex. *Ep. Canon.* 13; Socr. *H. E.* v. 22. Cassian, iii. 2, says that in Egyptian monasteries the Liturgy was at 9 A.M. on Saturdays and Sundays.

as the difference between the use of leavened and unleavened bread afterwards was. It forms the subject of one of St. Augustine's letters to St. Jerome [29] in which he raises the interesting question how far conformity in things indifferent is permissible to travellers. He was, of course, familiar with the custom of not fasting on Saturday at Milan under the rule of St. Ambrose, where it may very possibly have been introduced, with other Eastern practices, by the Arian Bishop Auxentius of Cappadocia, who for a long time preceded St. Ambrose. It may be that St. Augustine's good sense in this matter had a beneficial influence in removing a cause of dispute. The passing away of Marcionism of course also removed any prejudice against Western usage as a concession to heresy; and in time the feeling on the subject died away. But Pope Innocent I., in 414, was, as we have seen, of opinion that the Liturgy ought not to be celebrated either on Friday or Saturday.

III. The question as to what public services were held daily in the Church is much more complicated. It may be considered under two heads: (1) daily Eucharistic worship; (2) other hours of prayer.

1. *History of the Daily Eucharist.*

We have seen that at Jerusalem in the earliest age—that is, up to the fall of the city—a simple liturgical service seems to have been held on week

[29] *Ep.* 19, *ad Hieron.*

days as well as on Sundays. But that usage seems entirely to have dropped, and no distinct trace of a daily celebration of the Eucharist appears in Church literature until the time of St. Cyprian, in the middle of the third century, apparently as a local custom of the African Church.[30] The only earlier possible notice of it that I can discover is the discussion attributed by St. Jerome to Hippolytus, 'whether the Eucharist should be received daily.'[31] But, as we have seen, daily private communion with the reserved Sacrament was different from daily celebration, and it is very probable that this was the practice discussed by Hippolytus. Africa, therefore, as far as we know, stands alone in the ante-Nicene period in this matter.

The next earliest authority for the daily Eucharist is in a treatise of Eusebius of Caesarea, dated about A.D. 312 ('Demonstr. Evang.' i. 10, p. 35 B.). In the latter part of the fourth century the question was raised whether daily communion, implying generally a daily celebration, was or was not desirable. St. Basil, about A.D. 370, says that it is good and profitable to

[30] St. Cypr. *De Orat. Dom.* 18, *Ep.* 57, 3, 'Sacerdotes qui sacrificia Dei quotidie celebramus,' and 58, 1. Cyprian connected daily communion with the petition in the Lord's Prayer: but this is peculiar to him. Origen, *De Oratione*, 27, in discussing 'this day,' treats it as equal to 'this age,' and says nothing of the other meaning. This is evidence that Cyprian's interpretation was not traditional, but probably his own thought influencing his own practice.

[31] S. Hieron. *Ep.* 71, 6 *ad Lucin.*, A.D. 398 (?). The passage from Hippolytus *on Proverbs*, ix. 1, which occurs in Lagarde's edition, no. 133, p. 199, and is quoted by Scudamore, ed. 2, p. 836, is not considered to be genuine by the modern editor, Achelis.

communicate every day, but his own practice is to do so on Sundays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays ('Ep.' 93, ad Caesariam). St. Jerome, discussing the question, incidentally notices the report that daily communion was in use at Rome and in the Spanish Churches, and leaves the course to be followed open, referring to the well-known phrase of St. Paul (Rom. xiv. 5), 'Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet.' (See note 31.) St. Augustine refers to the diversity of practice between communion every day, communion on certain week-days, and communion on the Lord's Day only ('Ep.' 54, ad Ianuarium) and notices that the daily Eucharist was (still) the practice of his own Church ('De Serm. Domini in Monte,' ii. 7, 25). St. Chrysostom uses the phrase, 'daily sacrifice'—which, like 'daily bread' in Africa, led to the propagation of the practice—but he notices the variety of usage ('Hom.' 3, in Eph. t. xi. p. 26), and elsewhere implies that the usage with which he was best acquainted was three or four times a week ('Hom.' 55, *in eos qui Pascha ieiunant*).[32]

Chrysostom's works are specially full of regrets over the decline of the number of communicants in his own day; and the fifth century saw still greater laxity. This led in the West to the rule of the Council of Agde (Agatha) in Narbonne, A.D. 506, on which our rubrical rule of communion, 'three times a year at the least,' is founded. From this time onwards, notwithstanding attempts from time to time to the contrary, communion on the part of the laity became

[32] See the longer citations on this point in Bingham, xv. 9, 4.

infrequent, until at last the Fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215, c. 21, left the Western Church content with trying to enforce communion at Easter.

By the time of the Reformation in this country the minimum had for the common people become the maximum, and a sort of Church principle with them, as the 'Articles of the Devon Rebels' in 1549 show: 'We will have the Mass in Latin as it was before, and celebrated by the Priest without any man or woman communicating with him' . . . 'We will have the Sacrament of the Altar but at Easter delivered to the lay people, and then but in one kind.' (See Archbishop Cranmer's Works, Parker Soc. 2, pp. 169, 173.)

The Church of England has had an uphill struggle since, against this reluctance to communicate. That it has to a certain extent succeeded is happily now true, and we may read Bingham's adaptation of Chrysostom's laments (A.D. 1708–1722, Book xv. end) with a great measure of thankfulness. But much remains to be done. The way to further success seems to me to lie in emphasising the universal Catholic custom of weekly celebration and open communion on Sundays.

The attempt to make daily celebrations and communions popular is not likely to succeed any better now than it did in the past. The local customs of the enthusiastic days of apostolic Christianity at Jerusalem and in fervid Africa—the latter not resulting

in a very satisfactory type of Christianity—were not suitable for the Church at large. Our people's minds move slowly, and they require time for reflection and consideration before reception. Even weekly communion is too frequent for many of them. Any attempt to push them beyond it might lead perhaps to a formal reception of the Sacrament as a sort of charm, as it did in the third century, but would not be consistent with real reverence or piety.

As regards the clergy, I have not found it easy to form an exact idea of the frequency of liturgical celebrations and communions expected from them in early days. Probably in cathedral and conventual Churches there was a daily celebration, but not in most English parish churches. Ratramnus is a witness for daily celebration in the ninth century. But in England, in the fourteenth century, in country places where there was one Priest, 'Mattins and Mass quite early and Evensong after an early dinner once a week—*i.e.* on Sundays—was doubtless then reckoned to be good and sufficient Church going.' [33]

In the previous century we find Pope Innocent III. complaining that certain Priests scarcely celebrate four times a year, and he bids them celebrate devoutly both the nightly and the daily office ('Decretals,' iii. 41, 9, *Dolentes*). It does not seem

[33] Ratramnus, *De Corp. et Sang. Domini*, preface: 'Sacramenta . . . non solum per omnes Paschae solennitates celebrantur singulis annis, verum singulis in anno diebus.' For the later date see Canon Chr. Wordsworth, *Notes on Mediaeval Services in England* p. 63.

that he laid down any rule as to daily celebrations of the Eucharist. If he meant to do so, it was not enforced; for the rule of the Council of Trent is 'that a Bishop is to take care that Priests generally are to celebrate at least on Sundays and solemn Feasts, but if they have cure of souls as often as will satisfy their duty' (Sess. xxiii. 'De Ref.' c. 14). This rule Charles Borromeo, who had a high standard of duty, interprets for parish Priests to mean three times a week besides Sundays and festivals, or more frequently if custom or necessity demands.[34]

The modern frequency of celebrations in the Roman Church is not entirely due to piety going beyond rule. A Priest, in that communion, is not usually permitted to say Mass more than once a day, and for that he may earn a small sum by promising to apply his intention to a particular object desired by a friend or correspondent. The payment is trifling, but, to an ill-paid clergy, important. No doubt in France the school which has arisen since the Revolution has impressed upon the clergy the duty of a daily celebration as their great support in the loneliness of their lives, and I do not doubt that it is to many of them a very real help.

It is not, however, desirable that our English clergy should grow to depend upon a daily Eucharist.

[34] For these and other references on this subject see Liguori, *Th. Mor.* lib. v. tr. iii. 'De Euch.' § 313 (tom. iii. p. 227, ed. Paris, 1878).

The Roman Church has taken it up, after considerable reluctance, as part of the general tendency to assimilate the parochial clergy to the monastic orders. But it has only succeeded by separating the clergy more and more from the people, who 'assist' as spectators or worshippers, not as communicants. The result before the Reformation was, as we have seen, to make assistance take the place of communion for the laity, except once a year. It would naturally have the same sort of sad result now, and it is indeed doing so, wherever the clergy are acting in defiance of the rule as to the presence of three communicants. Such 'assistance,' if it become habitual, is destructive of the sense of responsibility and individual duty: it feeds vague emotion, and encourages a false system of religion by deputy. It tends to exalt the ornaments and accessories and all the minutiae of the service without encouraging full reflection on its inner meaning and its bearing on conduct. Nor is the effect upon the clergy satisfactory. It is not good for them to be so separate from their people. Spiritual pride and self-will are, in many cases, fostered by the separation. Control of the thoughts and full realisation of the greatness of the Liturgy are made difficult for them. Preparation before it is more careless; thanksgiving during it and after it becomes more formal. Sunday itself may lose much of its charm and its blessing. It ceases to be the *Lord's* Day in the fullest sense, when it ceases to be specially set apart for the commemoration of the Lord's sacrifice and the partaking at His hand of His Body and Blood.

I think, however, that in towns, where there is a number of clergy, the Eucharistic observance of the old liturgical days, Wednesday and Friday, as well, of course, as Saints Days and greater holy days, might well be used by them to strengthen their own spiritual life. They cannot meet as a body on Sundays; they could surely meet on some of these days; and others might join them from the country. The different town churches might take turns, just as the Church on Mount Sion and the Anastasis did at Jerusalem, and as the 'Stations' were divided in the city churches at Rome—as may be seen by the old Kalendars and Sacramentaries. Such an observance would promote the unity of the Church and the joy of public worship; it would give a fuller meaning to the clause in the Creed about the Communion of Saints; it would prevent the depressing sense of isolation and coldness, or the feeling of harsh independence and dislike to be meddled with, which too often beset the parish Priest in trying single-handed to make a reluctant people live a higher life. In country parishes, if our asceticism were a trifle, only a trifle, bolder, our reserve a little less puerile, and going out a mile or two before breakfast, with the possibility of getting wet, did not seem such an unheard of sacrifice, it would be easy for a group of neighbouring clergy to meet for week-day Eucharists in sufficient numbers with certain like-minded people who would be drawn together by this evidence of the reality of their pastors' devotion. On many grounds, then, I desire to see this return to ancient usage

tried with some newness of method suitable to our change of circumstances.

2. *Daily Public Prayers.*

We have seen that the custom of daily public prayer began, like the daily Eucharist, at Jerusalem. It was apparently dropped like the latter, and came gradually to be revived in the fourth century. We shall find that in this revival Jerusalem again played an important part. Its reintroduction was natural on two accounts: the cessation of persecution, which enabled more frequent meetings to be held by Christians without anxiety, and the necessity for regulating the ascetic life and making it part of the ordinary life of the Church. Nor, I think, can the example of the Jewish synagogues, with their frequent public services, have been without a stimulating effect; something, too, may be ascribed to the strengthening of inner life due to the reaction against the attacks of Julian.

To quote a recent writer of our own, whose treatment of this topic in a short compass is the most lucid and helpful that I have come across: 'The only public services, other than the Eucharist, of which there is any evidence during the first three centuries of Christianity [are] the vigils of Sundays, the station days and the birthdays of martyrs—these vigils being normally a preparation for a Eucharist. They comprised two or three offices practically

distinct—an evening, a nightly and a morning service—but in idea and origin they were one.' [35]

But the fourth century saw an advance in the direction of making these times of public prayer sunset and early morning—for the midnight hour was generally dropped—the same for every day. To use technical language, each day came to have its previous vigil, not only the liturgical days The same period also saw the gradual but very partial rise of a more elaborate scheme by which the day hours of private prayer, or some of them, were conducted by ascetics, either in their monasteries or in city churches with such other pious people as chose to come together, with certain of the clergy to keep order. There was not at first a general assembly of the clergy for any of these daily offices, but a gathering of pious people to say their private prayers together under surveillance. The obligation gradually extended to the clergy, just as the obligation of continence or celibacy did.

A few details will show the difference of practice

[35] Rev. J. H. Maude, of Hertford College, Oxford, *A History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 53 (1899). See the earlier chapters of P. Batiffol's *Hist. du Bréviaire* (Paris, 1895), and Bingham, xii. 9, 7 foll. for further citations; also L. Pullan, *Hist. of B. C. P.* pp. 141 foll. The first reference to the three hours of a vigil is in Methodius's *Banquet of the Ten Virgins*, v. 2, written for female ascetics towards the end of the third century, where he compares them to the three stages of life. The only possible earlier mention of public daily service, and that at cockcrow, is in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, xxi. 217, which certainly orders it, but in xxv. 230 we read: 'Unusquisque summo studio contendat ut ecclesiam frequentet omnibus diebus quibus fiunt orationes.' The first passage must therefore be interpolated.

in various centres of Church life in the East. In Egypt, the original home of monasticism, the public daily services of the monks all through the fourth century were few, simple and primitive. According to Cassian[36]—whose evidence is very precise and interesting—they had only evening and early morning prayer together, each service consisting of twelve psalms, recited by readers, and two lessons followed by silent prayer. Other hours of prayer and devotion were observed by them privately in the midst of their work. Similar evening and morning prayers were set up in other great centres about the middle of the century. Thus we have the well-known case at Antioch, *circa* 350, where Bishop Leontius (A.D. 344–357) brought the congregations, collected by the ascetics Flavian and Diodorus in the cemetery chapels, into the city churches, in order that they might be under surveillance; and so introduced antiphonal singing, by two opposite choirs, into the Christian world. A similar usage was already established at Caesarea in Cappadocia by the time of St. Basil, and was also introduced in 387 by St. Ambrose at Milan—where, we must remember, he was immediately preceded by a Cappadocian (Arian) Bishop, Auxentius.[37] We cannot doubt that the service at Antioch was that recorded in the 'Apostolic Constitutions' and in the tract on

[36] See Cassian, *Inst.* ii. 6, iii. 2, 3, 4 etc., and fuller quotations in Bingham, xiii. 9: cp. J. H. Maude, *l.c.*

[37] For the act of Leontius see Theodoret, *H. E.* ii. 24; for Caesarea, St. Basil, *Ep.* 207; for Milan, St. Aug. *Conf.* ix. 7.

Virginity falsely ascribed to St. Athanasius, described in the Introduction to this book (above, p. 55).

It is interesting to notice that there is nothing about daily services in the more ancient 'Didascalia,' but in the 'Constitutions,' compiled about A.D. 375 at Antioch, there are three passages bearing directly on them, viz. ii. 59, vii. 47, and viii. 35–39. In the first the people are enjoined to meet every day at early morning (ὄρθρου) and to say the 62nd (*i.e.* our 63rd) Psalm, 'O God, thou art my God, early will I seek thee;' and in the evening to say the 140th (*i.e.* our 141st), 'Lord, I call upon thee, haste thee unto me,' with its appropriate reference to the evening sacrifice (ii. 59).

The second passage is an appendix made intelligible by the sometimes fuller statements in the 'De Virginitate,' which represents a development of worship with hymns as well as Psalms. The night service recommended to the Syrian Virgin consists of four hours—sunset (12th hour), midnight, mattins and dawn. The sunset hour was observed as that of our Lord's going down into Hades (c. 16). It began (according to 'Ap. C.' vii. 47) with the 113th Psalm, 'Praise the Lord, ye servants, O praise the name of the Lord,' chosen especially on account of verse 3, 'The Lord's name is praised from the rising up of the sun unto the going down of the same.' To this was added the hymn: 'We praise thee, we hymn thee, we bless thee, for thy great glory, O Lord [and] King, Father of the Christ, the spotless Lamb, who

taketh away the sin of the world: to thee belongeth (πρέπει) praise, to thee belongeth hymn, to thee glory belongeth, O God and Father; through the Son in the all-holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.' Then followed the *Nunc dimittis*. At midnight, the hour of the Resurrection, the Virgin is bidden to rise and say the verse, 'At midnight I will rise' etc., and then the 51st Psalm and others at will, saying a prayer after each, and adding 'Alleluia' after every third Psalm (c. 20). At mattins, *i.e.* at the cock-crow service, the 63rd Psalm is to be said, 'O God, thou art my God' etc., and at dawn the *Benedicite omnia opera*, and the *Gloria in excelsis*, which latter is also given in the 'Constitutions' (vii. 47). Devotions at the third, sixth and ninth hours are also mentioned ('De V.' 12).

It is to be observed that the Syrian service thus described differs from the Egyptian in having canticles and private hymns (ὕμνοι ἰδιωτικοί) as well as Psalms, and in having no lessons, but it is equally simple in the absence of set forms of prayer.

A third stage, in which set prayers are introduced, is revealed to us in the more elaborate scheme of the eighth book, which first mentions prayers at Dawn, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Cockcrow (viii. 33), which may be said privately or publicly, and then goes on to prescribe the order of two of them, Vespers and Dawn (ὄρθρος), for which the Bishop is to assemble the Church. These chapters are put, with some congruity, into the mouth of James, Bishop of Jerusalem, since

they agree very largely with the order of service described by Silvia as performed in the Holy City at these hours in the passage printed below. The reader should compare the two, noticing that the Syrian order of Vespers and Dawn (which is still that of the Greek Church) is inverted by Silvia, coming from the West, and that there is a larger amount of Psalmody in the Jerusalem rite than in that of Antioch. I borrow the following version, with slight amendment, from the 'Ante-Nicene Christian Library.'

Ch. 35. . . . *When it is evening, thou, O bishop, shalt assemble the church; and after the repetition of the psalm at the lighting up of the lamps, the deacon shall bid prayers for the catechumens, the energumens, the candidates and the penitents, as we said before. But after the dismissal of these, the deacon shall say:* So many as are of the faithful, let us pray to the Lord.

And when he has proclaimed the subjects of the first prayer, he shall say:

36. Save us, O God, and raise us up by Thy Christ. Let us stand up, and beg for the mercies of the Lord, and His compassions, for the angel of peace, for what things are good and profitable, for a Christian departure out of this life, an evening and a night of peace, and free from sin; and let us beg that the whole course of our life may be unblameable. Let us dedicate ourselves and one another to the living God through His Christ. *And let the bishop add this prayer, and say:*

37. O God, who art without beginning and without end, the Maker of the whole world by Christ, and the Provider for it, but before all * His God and Father, the Lord † of the Spirit, and the King of intelligible and sensible beings; who hast made the day for the works of light, and the night for the refreshment of our infirmity—for 'the day is Thine, the night also is

[* 'Before all' is omitted in one V. MS.]

[† One V. MS. reads 'sender forth' instead of 'Lord.']

Thine: Thou hast prepared the light and the sun'*—do Thou now, O Lord, Thou lover of mankind, and fountain of all good, mercifully accept of this our evening thanksgiving. Thou who hast brought us through the length of the day, and hast brought us to the beginnings of the night, preserve us by Thy Christ, afford us a peaceable evening, and a night free from sin, and vouchsafe us everlasting life by Thy Christ, through whom glory, honour, and worship be to Thee in† the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

And let the deacon say: Bow down for the laying on of hands.

And let the bishop say: O God of our fathers, and Lord of mercy, who didst form man of Thy wisdom a rational creature, and beloved of God more than the other beings upon this earth, and didst give him authority to rule over the creatures upon the earth, and didst ordain by Thy will rulers and priests—the former for the security of life, the latter for a regular worship—do Thou now also look down, O Lord Almighty, and cause Thy face to shine upon Thy people, who bow down the neck of their heart, and bless them by Christ; through whom Thou hast enlightened us with the light of knowledge, and hast revealed Thyself to us; with whom worthy adoration is due from every rational and holy nature to Thee, and to the Spirit, who is the Comforter, for ever. Amen. *And let the deacon say:* Depart in peace.

In like manner, in the morning, after the repetition of the morning psalm, and his dismissal of the catechumens, the energumens, the candidates for baptism, and the penitents, and after the usual bidding of prayers (that we may not again repeat the same things,) let the deacon add after the words:

Save them, O God, and raise them up by Thy grace: Let us beg of the Lord His mercies, and His compassions, that this morning and this day may be with peace and without sin, as also all the time of our sojourning; that He will grant us His angel of peace, a Christian departure out of this life, and that God will be merciful and gracious. Let us dedicate ourselves

[* Ps. lxxiv. 16.]

[† One V. MS. reads 'with' instead of 'in.']

and one another to the living God through His Only-begotten. *And let the bishop add this prayer, and say:*

38. O God, the God of spirits and of all flesh, who art beyond compare, and standest in need of nothing, who hast given the sun to have rule over the day, and the moon and the stars to have rule over the night, do Thou now also look down upon us with gracious eyes, and receive our morning thanksgivings, and have mercy upon us; for we have not 'spread out our hands unto a strange God'*; for there is not among us any new God, but Thou, the eternal God, who art without end, who hast given us our being through Christ, and given us our well-being through Him. Do Thou vouchsafe us also, through Him, eternal life; with whom glory, and honour, and worship be to Thee and to the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

And let the deacon say: Bow down for the laying on of hands. *And let the bishop add this prayer, saying:*

39. O God, who art faithful and true, who 'hast mercy on thousands and ten thousands of them that love Thee,'† the lover of the humble, and the protector of the needy, of whom all things stand in need, for all things are subject to Thee; look down upon this Thy people, who bow down their heads to Thee, and bless them with spiritual blessing. 'Keep them as the apple of an eye,'‡ preserve them in piety and righteousness, and vouchsafe them eternal life in Christ Jesus Thy beloved Son, with whom glory, honour, and worship be to Thee and to the Holy Spirit, now and always, and for ever and ever. Amen. *And let the deacon say:* Depart in peace.

It is to be remarked that there is nowhere in the 'Constitutions' any notice of regular daily service—as a matter of obligation—at any hours besides these two, night and morning. Nor in any of the Syrian and Palestinian descriptions are lessons mentioned. The contemporary testimony of Epiphanius is to the same effect, for he treats the early morning hymns and prayers and the psalms and prayers at the lighting

[* Ps. xliv. 20.] [† Ex. xxxiv. and xx.] [‡ Ps. xvii. 8.]

of the lamps as the only regular daily offices ('Exp. Fid.' 23).

We seem, therefore, definitely able to fix the period A.D. 350–375 as that of the introduction of daily public evening and morning prayers into the Eastern Church, followed a few years later by that of Milan.

The partial addition of the day hours was, as I have implied, the work of the Church of Jerusalem, and particularly of the Monastery of Bethlehem, in which St. Jerome took so great an interest and part. It is not too much to ascribe a great deal of their popularity to his influence with the noble ladies who followed him to Palestine and settled at Bethlehem in 386. What the Egyptian monks at their various handicrafts and labours could not so easily do, the ladies of Paula's nunnery and the more educated monks of Jerome's monastery were naturally inclined to, viz. the saying of the three day hours (Terce, Sext and None) together, as well as those of the nightly vigil.[38]

Almost coincident with St. Jerome's visit with his

[38] *Ep.* 27 (on Paula), 10: 'Mane, hora tertia, sexta, nona vespere, noctis medio, per ordinem psalterium cantabant.' Cp. *Ep.* 7, *ad Laetam*, where he describes the same six hours as hours of private devotion, in slightly different order: 'Assuescat exemplo ad orationes et psalmos nocte consurgere, mane hymnos canere, tertia, sexta, nona hora stare in acie, quasi bellatricem Christi; accensaque lucerna reddere sacrificium vespertinum.' But the full order was not introduced at once, for we learn from Cassian that it was established during the time of his stay at Bethlehem, A.D. 390–403 (*Inst.* iii. 3). He tells us also that the hour of *Prime* was added by the same monks (*ib.* 4).

friends to Palestine (385) and his settlement at Bethlehem (386) was the pilgrimage from Gaul of another noble Western lady, whom we for convenience call Silvia, to whose evidence I have already referred. She bears witness to the partial observance of the day hours in the great Church of the Resurrection at this epoch (*circa* A.D. 385), probably before they were fully introduced at Bethlehem. The hours described by her are Cockcrow and Mattins continuously, Sext, None and Vespers—Terce and Midnight are not mentioned. Her description is interesting in itself and in relation to the sacred spot where the services were held, and it is a good example of the way in which a woman's power of noticing detail may help the historian and fill out the accounts even of a detailed Church Order like the 'Constitutions.' The Latin may be found in Duchesne's Appendix, pp. 471–473.

Every day, before cockcrow, all the doors of the Anastasis [*i.e.* the Resurrection Church] are opened and all the Monazontes and Parthenae [Solitaries and Virgins], as they call them here, come down; and not only they but lay people besides, men or women, who have a mind to keep vigil earlier [than others]. And from that hour to daylight hymns [39] are said, and psalms

[39] Duchesne, *ad loc.* and pp. 109, 106, 438, understands by 'hymns' Psalms or Biblical Canticles. But we have seen that the *Gloria in excelsis* and the *Te decet hymnus* were in use about this time at Antioch. Hymns, however, include Psalms. 'Dicuntur' means chanted by a single voice; 'responduntur' means one voice singing half, and the people answering the other half or interposing ἀκροστίχια. 'Antiphonae' (*v.s.* p. 97) means psalms sung antiphonally by two choirs, as introduced by Flavian and Diodorus at Antioch, not what we call 'Antiphons'—verses sung before a Psalm by a chanter to set the tone, and repeated after it by the choir.

are responded and antiphons sung, and a prayer is said after each hymn. For two or three Presbyters and likewise Deacons take turns together with the Solitaries, and say the prayers between the hymns and antiphons.

Then when it begins to grow light they begin to say the matin hymns. Then comes in the Bishop, with the clergy, and he immediately enters the Cave, and from within the rails he first says a prayer for all; further, he himself [*i.e.* not by the Deacon's voice] recites the names of those whom he wishes to commemorate, and then blesses the catechumens. Again he says a prayer, and blesses the faithful. And afterwards, when the Bishop comes outside the rails, all come up to receive blessing from his hand (*omnes ad manum ei accedunt*); and he blesses them one by one as he goes out; and so the service ends (*fit missa*), it now being daylight.

Further, at the sixth hour all again come down to the Anastasis, and psalms and antiphons go on till notice of the Bishop's coming is given. He comes down as before, and does not sit, but goes at once within the rails into the Anastasis—that is, within the Cave, as at the early service; and thence, as before, first he makes a prayer; then he blesses the faithful, and then going out of the rails, people come up, as before, to his hand. So also it is done at None as at Sext.

But at the tenth hour [4 P.M.]—which they call here Lychnicum (*licinicon*), as we say 'lucernare'—as before, the whole multitude collects at the Anastasis, all lamps (*candelae*) and tapers are lighted, and there is an immense illumination. But light is not brought from outside, but taken from the inner Cave, where a lamp is always alight night and day—that is, from within the rails. The lamp-lighting Psalms are also said, and antiphons chanted for a considerable time (*diutius*). Now notice is given of the Bishop's coming, and he comes down and sits above, and further the Presbyters sit in their own places; hymns or antiphons are said. And when they have been carried through according to custom, the Bishop rises and stands before the rails—that is, before the Cave—and one of the Deacons makes a commemoration of individuals (*singulorum*), as is the usual custom. And as the Deacon says the individual names, a large number of children (*pisinni*) stand always

answering '*Kyrie eleyson*,' or as we say, "O Lord, have mercy," the repetitions (*voces*) of which are innumerable. And when the Deacon has finished all that he ought to say, the Bishop first says a prayer and prays for all; and then all, whether faithful or catechumens, pray together. Then the Deacon cries out that every catechumen should bow his head as he stands; and then the Bishop as he stands says the blessing over the catechumens. Then a prayer is made, and once again the Deacon cries, and warns that every one of the faithful as he stands should bow his head; then the Bishop blesses the faithful, and so the service ends at the Anastasis. [Then followed two short services, 'ante Crucem' and 'post Crucem,' *i.e.* Golgotha. All ended with the darkness.]

This shows that at that period in Jerusalem there were four daily offices, (1) a double matin office continuously, from cockcrow to daylight, (2) Sext, (3) None and (4) Vespers, the latter earlier than we should have expected, perhaps because the pilgrimage took place in the winter months. No lessons are mentioned; but at the two principal services, which are morning and evening, a commemoration with responses is made. The Bishop and the body of clergy are only present to conclude the services—the congregation consisting of the ascetics and other lay people, led by certain clergy, who officiate in turns.

The Church of Rome, however, notwithstanding the influence of St. Jerome and his circle, did not adopt daily services so early as the Eastern and Gallican Churches did. Antiphonal music even did not penetrate into Rome until after the time of Celestine I. (422–432), and perhaps not so early. The recitation of the Cockcrow and Mattins office does not appear to have been binding on the clergy till the sixth century

(perhaps under Pope Hormisda, 514–523), and Vespers was made an obligation still later. In Gaul and Spain, however, the canons of various Councils (Agde, 506, c. 30; Gerunda, 517, c. 18; Braga, 561, cap. 1; 2 Tours, 567, c. 18; 4 Toledo, 633, c. 12) regulated the 'ordo psallendi' at Mattins and Vespers, and clearly mark the services as binding on the clergy. A civil law of Justinian also decreed that all clergy attached to a church should sing Vespers, Mattins and Lauds themselves and not leave the duty to others. Almost contemporary with it was the issue of the famous Rule of St. Benedict (A.D. 528), which prescribed the use of the complete circle of eight hours for monks which is the foundation of the Breviary. These are the night hour of Mattins (about 2 A.M.), and the Seven day hours—Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline. Prime was invented at Bethlehem, and Compline (Completorium) was the private bedroom prayer of Christians, said by St. Benedict's Rule in common. He wisely dropped the Midnight hour so that his monks might have a good period of unbroken sleep.

The further history of the fusion of the monastic hours with those which the clergy and laity were expected to attend is too long and detailed to be given here. It is described, in a very exact and interesting manner, in M. Pierre Batiffol's 'Histoire du Bréviaire' and in a very concise and intelligent summary in Mr. J. H. Maude's 'History of the Book of Common Prayer.' Enough has been said to show that our

reformers, on the whole, did well in reducing the services to the two which represent the hours most widely spread and recommended by authority in the ancient Church—Mattins and Vespers. If I were assisting to compose a new Breviary for the Church of England I should plead, indeed, for a mid-day office for town churches and Cathedrals and for placing Mattins earlier and Evensong later than they are usually said. I should make Mattins an Office for the clergy and churchworkers ; the Mid-day Office or Sext for busy people, of a very short and simple character lasting for a quarter of an hour ; and Evensong at 6 or 6.30 or 7, a popular musical service after the day's work was over. But I feel strongly that the rule of our Church as it now stands ought to be loyally obeyed by the clergy. I am surprised to find from private inquiries made that even in the Diocese of Salisbury, with its strong traditions and its comparatively easy duties, some of the clergy do not seem to know clearly what that rule is. It is, in the fewest possible words, that Mattins and Evensong are to be said by all clergy—whether they have cure of souls or not—publicly or privately. Those who have cure of souls, when at home and not reasonably hindered, are to hold a public service to which the laity are to be invited by the tolling of the bell. Thus it is no excuse for a clergyman who omits the recitation of Mattins and Evensong to say that the people do not or would not come or that he is busy or has no cure of souls. It is a personal duty incumbent on him, in which the laity are to be usually invited to join when he has cure of souls.

VII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH FESTIVALS. EASTER, LENT AND PENTECOST.

§ 1. *The Christian Pascha.*

THE Kalendar of annual Church Festivals begins with Easter as certainly as the Christian observance of the week begins with Sunday. The observance of both is perfectly natural, yet there is no tradition as to any special command for either. As regards Easter, we cannot go beyond the observation of the Church historian Socrates ('H.E.' v. 22): 'Neither the Saviour nor the Apostles commanded us to keep this feast by any law: nor did the Gospels or the Apostles impose it upon us by threat of fine or punishment or curse, as the Law of Moses did to the Jews: but it is historically related in the Gospels that our Lord suffered at the time of unleavened bread, as a reproof of the profane murder committed by the Jews.' He then goes on to state his opinion that the observance of Easter arose from custom rather than from direct command, and to illustrate this opinion by the divergence in the date assigned to the festival, which is one of the commonplaces of Ecclesiastical History. There is in fact no absolutely certain notice of the Christian keeping of Easter in the New Testament, though most

readers of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians have recognised that the phrase 'Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us' coupled with the expression of his intention to remain at Ephesus until Pentecost (v. 7 and xvi. 8) make it probable that Christians were having some special kind of celebration at the time when he was writing, and that that time was coincident with the Jewish Passover. But there is no such early mention of a Christian Easter in definite terms as there is of the keeping of Sunday. Not only is it absent from the extant writings of the Apostolic Fathers Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Barnabas and Hermas, as well as Justin Martyr, but the earliest 'Church Order,' the 'Didaché,' which mentions the Sunday Liturgy and the fast on Wednesday and Friday, says nothing of Easter. It is therefore difficult to suppose that it was observed as a feast of great consequence in the region to which that book belongs, which we have reason to suppose was Syria. The country where tradition goes farthest back concerning it seems to have been proconsular Asia[1] and its neighbourhood, where St. Polycarp, who was martyred probably in A.D. 156, is reported to have traced the custom that he followed as far back as the time, and to have supported it by the high authority, of the Apostle John.[2] The Roman custom can only be traced definitely back to the time of Pope Xystus, *circa*

[1] Cilicia was apparently divided on the subject, being sometimes reckoned on one side sometimes on the other. Pontus was against 'Asia.'

[2] See the fragment of St. Irenaeus from his letter to Pope Victor, Eus. *H. E.* v. 24.

A.D. 120, though it may doubtless have existed earlier.[3]

Both customs, it must be observed, refer originally, not to a feast, but to a commemorative fast on the anniversary of the death of our Lord founded no doubt on His words respecting the taking away of the Bridegroom (Matt. ix. 15, Mark ii. 20, Luke v. 36). The Christian *πάσχα* always in the first three centuries and often in the fourth means, I think, the celebration of the fast of Good Friday (extended no doubt by *ὑπέρθεσις* or 'superposition' in most cases over Easter Eve). This, for instance, is its use in Tertullian ('Adv. Iud.' 10 *ad fin.* and 'De Bapt.' 19). But originally it was the observance of one day, answering to the day of our Lord's Passion considered as an historical event. The use of 'Pascha' for Easter Day (*πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον* as opposed to *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον*) is of later introduction. The original use, though not due to false etymology, was no doubt supported by it in popular

[3] Iren. *ibid.* Irenaeus refers to the predecessors of Victor, viz. Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus and Xystus, who, although they did not keep the passover (with the Jews), yet were at peace with the representatives of the communities which did so (*αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες εἰρήνευον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν ἐν αἷς ἐτηρεῖτο ἐρχομένοις πρὸς αὐτούς*). Xystus, the earliest mentioned, is generally dated A.D. 115–125. We may gather that Roman tradition did not go beyond his time. The *Liber Pontificalis*, s. n., and the *False Decretals* (ed. Hinschius, p. 116, Pius, *Ep.* i., 'ut in die dominico pascha celebretur'), add the tradition that the observance of the Pascha on Sunday was revealed to Hermas, brother of Pope Pius (*circa* 140), by an angel. But the use of 'Pascha' for Easter Day is by itself enough to prove the comparative lateness of the legend. It only shows that those who wrote it knew nothing of Apostolic authority for the practice.

estimation, which connected 'Pascha' with the Greek *πάσχω*, 'I suffer.'[4]

The term 'Pentecost' was originally given to the whole space ('latissimum spatium,' as Tertullian calls it, 'De Bapt.' 19) from Good Friday to Whitsunday; and Origen talks of one who can really say 'we are risen with Christ' as walking continually in the days of Pentecost ('Contra Cels.' viii. 22).

Our Lord's crucifixion, which was thus commemorated as taking the place for Christians of the Jewish Passover, actually occurred, according to Christian tradition, on a Friday, the fourteenth day of the Jewish spring lunar month Nisan. The anniversary of this day might clearly be treated as a moveable or immoveable feast. The 'Asiatic' Churches round Ephesus, following, no doubt, the custom of the Jewish communities which surrounded them, and out of which in most cases they sprang, naturally attached themselves to the day of the month, observing the day that the Jews observed, but giving it a Christian colouring and symbolism.[5] The Roman Church considered the observance of the day of the week of much greater

[4] Cp. Justin, *Dial.* 40, Iren. iv. 10, Tert. *Adv. Iud.* 10 *ad fin.*, Lact. iv. 26, 40. St. Augustine writes strongly against the etymology (*Ep.* 55, 1), as a popular one.

[5] Duchesne supposes that the Laodicean controversy, in which Melito, Bishop of Sardis, was opposed by Claudius Apollinaris, Bishop of Hierapolis, near Laodicea, *circa* A.D. 164–8 (see Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26, and the *Paschal Chronicle*), was one in which some of the Asiatics went so far as to keep up the usage of eating a Paschal Lamb, which of course implied a sort of sacrifice, on the day observed by the Jews: see his lithographed *Origines Chrétiennes*, ch. xvi. p. 237 (Chauvin, 27 rue de l'Estrapade, 1881).

importance, and not only exacted a strict fast all through the Friday but extended it also to the Saturday and up to cockcrow on Sunday morning. The Asiatics, however, not only observed the Pascha on whatever day of the week the Jewish fourteenth Nisan happened to fall, but brought their fast to a conclusion at 3 P.M. on the Paschal day.[6] Both parties, however, adopted the Jewish Kalendar as the basis of their observance, the Asiatics accepting the fourteenth Nisan, the Romans and the rest of the Christian world observing the first Friday that followed the fourteenth Nisan.

At the close of the second century Pope Victor asserted the superiority of the Roman usage with such roughness as to draw forth a strong protest from St. Irenaeus, whose broadminded Christian maxim deserves to be remembered with lasting gratitude by the Church and to be set before all controversialists who try to represent differences of opinion on matters of Church custom as sufficient reasons for tearing the Church to pieces. His words are: 'Η διαφωνία τῆν νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησιν. 'Fragm.' 3, p. 825, ed. Stieren. 'The divergence as regards the fast confirms the concord of the Churches as regards the faith': *i.e.* each would not hold so strongly as it does to its own practice unless it regarded the

[6] Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 23, speaks of their ending the fast on that day. Some of the Spaniards did the same in later days at 3 P.M.: see Conc. Tolet. IV. can. 8, A.D. 638. Bread and water was the right 'refectio' on Good Friday for those who could not fast right on. See Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. iv. c. 23, § 26.

commemoration of the Saviour's death, and of the blessing brought by it, as of supreme importance. We are therefore (he seems to say) really strengthening Christian faith by tolerating the divergence.

Councils were held ; and, after long struggles and much friction, the Asiatics for the most part gave way. Those who stood out organised themselves into a Quartodeciman sect, which lasted up to the fifth century. Unfortunately the matter did not end here. The mismanagement of this struggle by Pope Victor became a precedent for strife about things indifferent which has had repeated injurious consequences. The tendency has been on many occasions, where some secondary belief or custom was in question, to forget the distinction between essential and unessential, catholic and uncatholic, until reverence for the fundamental doctrines of the faith has been almost lost sight of in bitter controversy about details. Nor was the decision about Easter satisfactory in itself. It was in fact premature. The Roman custom had the balance of expediency in its favour ; but far better would it have been for the Church if both it and the Asiatic custom had gone on side by side until the Church became learned enough and wise enough to see that the best course was to make all feasts practically immoveable, and either to fix Easter, as it afterwards fixed Christmas, to some particular day in the Julian year, or to assign it to the Sunday next after such a day.

The tendency of Rome was occasionally (though by no means always) to premature regulation, and that with insufficient scientific knowledge. This was

markedly shown in the next step taken in that city, apparently with great temporary applause, by its most learned divine, Hippolytus. Pope Victor died about the year 200 and was succeeded by Zephyrinus and then by Callistus, in whose time Hippolytus flourished at Rome. Hippolytus himself died, in all probability, in the year A.D. 235, when he and a later Pope, Pontianus, with whom he was most probably on friendly terms, were exiled to Sardinia ('Hermath.' viii. 181). Whatever may have been his exact position in regard to Zephyrinus and Callistus, who were obnoxious to him, there is no doubt that during his life and after his death he was regarded as a man of weight and authority in the Roman community and at Alexandria. I incline to think that he was Bishop of the Greek part of the Church. About the year A.D. 216 he determined to try and deliver the Christian world from the necessity of following the Jewish calculation as to the Paschal full-moon, which was not only a humiliating dependence but was found sometimes to lead to wrong results. The Jewish principle was that the paschal full-moon was the first after the vernal equinox; and this is definitely stated by Philo in a passage quoted at the beginning of the 'Paschal Chronicle' (*Corp. Hist. Byz.* p. 3, 1832). But after the taking of Jerusalem, the Jews grew lax in their intercalation of the months which were necessarily inserted every two or three years to make the lunar year agree with the solar. Hippolytus supposed that the lunar year consisted of exactly 354 days ($12 \times 29\frac{1}{2}$: the months being alternately 30 and 29 days long), and was

less than the solar year by exactly $11\frac{1}{4}$ days; and that therefore all that was needed was to intercalate 3 months of 30 days, or 90 days in all, in every period of 8 years. For 90 = eight times $11\frac{1}{4}$, the difference between the lunar year of 354 days and the solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$. He of course also intercalated a bissextile day every four years, as we do, to make up the solar year to its proper length. There would have been nothing to complain of in this procedure if he had taken pains to get the best knowledge accessible to him; but he seems to have been satisfied by a single period of observation as to the paschal full-moons, viz. during the years 216 to 224 A.D. As a matter of fact, 12 lunar months contain about 8 h. 48′ 38″ more than 354 days,[7] and in twenty years or so Hippolytus's cycle was several days wrong.

At first, however, it was most attractive as furnishing a perpetual Kalendar, like De Morgan's 'Book of Almanacs'—or like the Sarum 'Pye' and 'Pica Ebor.' of mediaeval times, and the Kalendar given by Gavanti—by which events of both past and future history could be estimated. The idea of Hippolytus was a far-reaching one. Every 8 years the paschal full-moon ought to happen again on the same day of the month, and every 56 years on the same day of the week: or, as Hippolytus set it down, in a double cycle—every 16 years and every 112 years, two of which latter periods in A.D. 224 reached the

[7] See Ideler, *Handbuch der m. und t. Chronologie*, i. p. 66 foll. The solar year consists, according to him, of 365 days 5h. 48′ 48″. The Metonic cycle intercalated seven months in nineteen years.

Nativity. Having constructed his cycle, he applied it in a way which has been admirably expounded by Dr. Salmon in two articles in the Dublin 'Hermathena' for 1873 and 1893, and substantially, though not quite so fully, in his articles in the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography.' Hippolytus found that, by his cycle, the only Friday fairly answering to the date of the crucifixion was that which fell on 25 March, A.D. 29, in the consulship of the two Gemini (C. Fufius and L. Rubellius: cp. Tac. 'Ann.' v. 1, 1 etc.), a year to which Clinton, for other reasons, assigns the Passion. This date was largely accepted by his contemporaries and successors and carried with it many consequences for the Christian Kalendar.

Unfortunately, as I have said, the cycle of Hippolytus did not really represent the true relation of the lunar to the solar year, and it was very soon proved to be wrong. His contemporaries honoured him with a statue, a fine throned figure (implying his episcopal rank), which still exists at Rome, on the sides of which were engraved this cycle and the titles of his other works. But when another Western calculator about twenty years later, in A.D. 243, produced a work on the date of Easter ('De Pascha Computus'),[8] while he adhered to the eight years cycle, he was obliged to put the Hippolytean dates each three days later.

We do not know exactly what was the course of such studies in other parts of the Christian world; but Dr. Salmon considers the Alexandrian Church to have worked by the other, generally called

[8] Usually published in the Appendix to St. Cyprian's works.

Metonic, cycle of nineteen years, which, with various modifications and improvements, exists to the present day as the basis of the Christian Kalendar.

But there was another point to be observed besides the equation of the lunar and the solar year: namely, the determination of the vernal equinox, after which the Passover ought always to fall. At first neither Rome nor Alexandria was very successful in ascertaining this day. At first at Rome it was fixed to 18 March; then the Alexandrians, following Anatolius of Laodicea, fixed it (*circa* A.D. 277) on the 19th. It was not till the time of Diocletian that they fixed it on the 21st, at which it has remained ever since. Our rule for finding Easter is that it is on the first Sunday after the first full moon which falls on or after 21 March; and this we owe to the Alexandrians. It is not quite clear what the question decided by the Council of Nicaea was; for the account of it has chiefly come down to us in the vague language in which the Emperor Constantine delighted (Eus. 'V. C.' iii. 19). But it was a victory for the Alexandrians over the Syrians, probably in this matter of the equinox; and henceforward in the East Alexandria ruled the date of Easter. Happily, Rome also was generally on good terms with Alexandria; but it did not accept correction without previous and repeated blundering. These blunders, finding their way into provinces like Gaul and Britain, were accepted as Apostolic traditions, and adhered to after Rome herself had made the necessary changes.

Our own British Church, for instance, had

accepted an old Roman computation of about A.D. 300, the time when Christianity was making some progress in the island under the temperate rule of Constantius Chlorus. It had also put itself definitely under the authority of Rome in this matter by the action of its delegates at the Council of Arles in A.D. 314 in accepting the first canon of that assembly. It also gave assent to the decree of Nicaea. But the letters ordered to be sent round by the Council of Arles[9] were apparently dropped or were disregarded; and the Britons went on using a cycle which was not only erroneous in its intercalations, but which fixed Easter Day, as they thought, on the Sunday between the 14th and the 20th Nisan. Good Friday might have been fixed to one of these days, but obviously Easter Day could not be earlier than the 16th Nisan. The reason of this mistake may have been the alteration in the meaning of the word Pascha, which in A.D. 300 meant Good Friday, but in A.D. 600 meant Easter Day. The Romans, in the meantime, had several times reformed their Kalendar, and in A.D. 525 had accepted the system of Dionysius Exiguus, which is the basis of our present Kalendar. The struggles which arose on this subject and on the tonsure were not creditable to either party; and I am afraid that our forefathers, who affected to follow a Johannine rule, supported their cause by apocryphal writings forged for the purpose.

[9] 'Primo loco de observatione Paschae Domini ut uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur et iuxta consuetudinem litteras ad omnes tu dirigas.' This was addressed to Pope Silvester (A.D. 314–335).

The Gallican divergence to which I have alluded arose from the acceptance in Gaul of a faulty Roman Kalendar drawn up by Victorius of Aquitaine in A.D. 457. This divergence was brought to an end in the Carolingian period.

I have said that the system of Dionysius Exiguus is the basis of our present Kalendar; but there is a difference between the Julian solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days and the 'tropical' year from equinox to equinox of eleven minutes and some ten seconds—the 'tropical' year being the shorter of the two. This difference grows to between eighteen and nineteen hours in a century; and the error had amounted to eleven days in 1752, when our Kalendar was reformed. For the credit of the Church of Rome it must be said that it had set the matter right as early as 1582; but that date was too near the struggles of the Reformation for Protestant countries to follow at once. This difference between the two years, the Julian and the tropical, is the reason why only the centuries whose first two digits divide by four (like 1600 and 2000) are leap years, and 1700 and 1800 and 1900 are not, because the excess of time in four centuries amounts to just about three days, which have therefore to be cast out of the reckoning. Even so, the equation is not quite exact, and the time will come when another reform in the Kalendar will be needed. I hope that the Church by that time may be wise enough and united enough to determine to keep Easter on a fixed day.

§ 2. *Lent and Pentecost.*

With us the forty days of Lent are succeeded by the fifty days of Pentecost. The latter, being based on a Jewish observance which coincided with certain remarkable facts of Christian history, naturally has much the most ancient attestation of the two seasons. The fast before Easter was originally only one, two or more days—in some cases forty hours—by which, however, we are, I suppose, to understand a continuous fast, where strength allowed it. But Pentecost was always fifty days, and the earliest writers who speak of it agree that it was a time of rejoicing, a perpetual Lord's day in which no fast was permitted, and prayers were said standing and not kneeling.[10] It was a continuation of the festival of the Resurrection, and a foretaste of the life of Heaven. The festival of the Ascension and the Rogation Days that now precede it are by no means of equal antiquity. The observance of Ascension Day cannot be traced beyond the middle of the fourth century. The observance of the three Rogation Days is much later, being introduced by Mamertus of Vienne, in Gaul, *circa* A.D. 470, but not into Rome until about A.D. 800, under Leo III.

The observance of the forty days of Lent is first distinctly mentioned in the fifth canon of Nicaea, A.D. 325. It is mentioned merely as a note of time,

[10] This is the general result of a comparison of Irenaeus (*Fragm. de Paschate* ap. *Ps.-Just. Quaest. et Resp.* 115), Tertullian (*De Bapt.* 19, *De Idol.* 14, *De Corona* 3), and Origen (*C. Celsum*, viii. 22).

and therefore as something generally known (*πρὸ τῆς τεσσαροκοστῆς*). The object of the canon was to establish annual provincial Synods, at which appeals from sentence of excommunication might be settled, and one being before Lent was intended to smooth the way for a happy Easter celebration free from ill-feeling (*ἵνα πάσης μικροψυχίας ἀναιρουμένης τὸ δῶρον καθαρὸν προσφέρηται*). The season of Lent at first bore simply the character of a time of preparation for Catechumens for the Baptism to be administered on Easter Eve. It was also connected – as, apparently, by the canon of Nicaea—with the preparation of penitents for their absolution ; and finally it became a season of penitential retreat for ordinary Christians, which grew in importance as the Easter communion began to stand out as one of the few occasions on which laymen were expected to approach the Lord's Table.

Duchesne (p. 232 foll.) has well pointed out the remarkable way in which the series of St. Athanasius's Paschal letters, issued to notify the date of Easter, illustrate the growth of the observance of Lent between the years 329 and 347, especially as he came directly under Roman influence. At first he speaks of the season of Lent and the week of fasting ; later on he speaks of the fast of Lent and the holy week of Pascha ('Festal Letter' xiii., A.D. 341, from Rome). In a covering letter sent with this, or with that of a previous year, to his principal supporter among the Bishops, Sarapion, Bishop of Thmuis (whose Liturgy is one of the most precious discoveries of

recent years), he urges that Sarapion should give notice of the fixed days before Lent begins, and should press upon the Egyptians to observe it as a fast, lest they should be ridiculed for their divergence from the rest of the world.[11] In the nineteenth of this series of letters (A.D. 347), he treats the man who disregards the fast of forty days as one who rashly and impurely treadeth on holy things, who cannot celebrate the Easter festival.[12] So quickly does tradition grow, even in the hands of so wise a man as Athanasius !

Nevertheless at Rome itself, though a season of forty days was observed, it is almost certain that the whole of it was not kept as a season of fasting. The Church historian Socrates, in a well-known and, as I may call it, classical chapter in which he speaks of the divergence of rites in different places, says that at Rome they fasted three weeks before Pascha, exclusive of Saturdays and Sundays ('H. E.' v. 22, p. 294).[13] This exception of Saturdays is contrary to Socrates's own general statement later on in the same chapter, and we know that Saturday was usually a fast at Rome; but there is something to be said as

[11] Athanasius, *P. G.* 26, p. 1412 foll. This letter is, unfortunately, not given in the translation of these Epistles in the *Library of the Fathers* (Oxf. 1854).

[12] *P. G.* 26, p. 1429.

[13] The statement of Socrates is in some degree supported by Cassiodorius, who has made a translation of part of this chapter in his *Historia Tripartita*, ix. 38, but a translation is not like an independent witness. The close of St. Leo's fourth Lenten sermon, which is also quoted by Valesius *ad loc.*, to the effect that the Romans were expected to fast on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, is not genuine. See *P. L.* 54, p. 281, note.

to the comparative shortness of the early Roman Lent fast, even by those who do not think the statement of Socrates correct. Duchesne supposes the three weeks to have been alternate. The reason why three weeks were at first chosen would probably be to outdo the Montanists, who instituted a fast of a fortnight in order to be more rigorous than the Catholics with their one holy week. But soon the whole season of the six weeks' preparation of penitents and catechumens was made a time not of devotion only but of fasting. Thus from the one day's fast of Good Friday grew up a period of six weeks, including Holy Week at Rome, Alexandria and Jerusalem, but anterior to Holy Week and distinguished from it at Antioch and in the region under its influence, which included the imperial city of Constantinople. The number of actual fast-days in the Roman six weeks and the Eastern seven weeks was, however, as a matter of fact the same, since at Rome only Sunday was exempted from the rule of fasting, while in the East Saturday and Sunday were both excepted. In process of time, however, it was observed that this was only roughly speaking forty days, and in reality was exactly thirty-six. An attempt was therefore made at Rome to add another week, and finally, in the seventh century, by some Pope whose name is unknown, the four days from Ash Wednesday onwards were added to make up the exact number of the traditional name. This we know was after the time of St. Gregory, who only knew the thirty-six days ('Hom.' xvi. 'in Evang.'), but

before the composition of the so-called 'Gelasian Sacramentary,' which adds the observance of the Sundays in Septuagesima, in Sexagesima and in Quinquagesima, thus making a season of nine weeks. At Constantinople three preliminary weeks were also added, two called by the names of the Gospels: the Sunday of the Pharisee and the publican, and the Sunday of the Prodigal son, and the third that of the Carnival (τοῦ ἀποκρέω). The whole Lenten season of ten weeks is called in the Greek Church the Τριῴδιον because the 'canon' or series of odes, which in other parts of the year contains nine, in this part generally contains only three odes.

The extension of Lent introduced at Rome was not, however, everywhere accepted in the West. In the Church of Milan to the present day there is no celebration of Ash Wednesday, and Lent begins at the Vespers on the Eve of the first Sunday in Lent. In Gaul, indeed, in the sixth century, canons were passed in favour of the observance of fasting on Saturdays in Lent (a usage not received at Milan any more than in the East), but in one case a caution is added against prolonging Lent by the addition of the weeks preceding—showing the gradual but not complete introduction of Roman practices.[14]

As to the services in Lent, the West, as far as

[14] See the Councils of Agde, c. 12, A.D. 506 ('etiam die sabbati'), and Orleans, c. 2, A.D. 541 ('quadragesima ab omnibus ecclesiis aequaliter teneatur, neque quinquagesima aut sexagesima ante Pascha quilibet sacerdos praesumat indicere.' Saturdays are only excepted if some compensation is made on Sunday).

Rome prevailed, somewhat slowly settled down to its observance with Eucharistic celebrations, while in the East the contrary method prevailed, of frequent non-liturgical services. The Roman practice of celebrations every week day in Lent except Thursday is traceable up to the seventh century. Thursday did not become a liturgical day till the time of Pope Gregory II., A.D. 715–31. Our modern practice of making Thursday a specially liturgical day may have something to be said for it as a matter of symbolism and convenience, but it is certainly far from primitive.

§ 3. *Holy Week. Palm Sunday. Maundy Thursday.*

The observance of Palm Sunday, though a very natural one, is not very ancient in the Western Church. It came, no doubt, from Palestine. At the end of the fourth century it was celebrated at Jerusalem. The whole city went in the afternoon to the Mount of Olives and sat on the spot whence our Blessed Lord ascended, singing and hearing lessons from Scripture, and then went home in slow procession, all carrying branches of palm or olive, and singing 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,' and the people did not return to their houses till late in the day ('Silvia,' ap. Duchesne, p. 484, cp. p. 237). The earliest mention of the day in the West is in Isidore of Seville, in the first quarter of the seventh century ('De Off.' i. 10), but no service for the blessing of palms or the procession is

found in liturgical books earlier than the eighth or ninth centuries. Impulse to its observance was undoubtedly given by the vigorous hymn in Latin elegiacs which the Spaniard Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, in the time of Charles the Great, wrote for his daughter Gisla. We have a very good idea of its swing and power given us in the excellent translation 'All glory, laud, and honour,' which, however, omits some of the quaint moralisations, *e.g.*—

> Sis pius ascensor, tuus et nos simus asellus,
> Tecum nos capiat urbs veneranda Dei.
> Be thou our gentle rider, let thy people be thine ass;
> Within God's holy city together let us pass.

(Cp. Martene, 'De Ant. Eccl. Rit.' lib. iv. c. xx.)

The most ancient observances of Holy Week besides the fast of Good Friday, which is the basis of the whole, are attached, as is natural, to the Thursday which preceded it. The most striking of these was the evening communion which remained in the African Church as late as the time of St. Augustine, and was expressly exempted from the rule of fasting by the twenty-ninth canon of the Third Council of Carthage, A.D. 397. It was of course originally a commemoration of the Last Supper and was connected with a habit of bathing which may or may not have been suggested by our Blessed Lord's own action as regards His disciples. In any case such a bath was a natural termination to the severities of Lent and a preparation for the proper keeping of Easter: but for reasons of health it was impossible for it to be taken fasting. For this reason the Church of the fourth century,

which had generally become strict about the fast before communion, did not insist upon it on this day (S. Aug. 'Ep.' 54 *ad Jan.* 9, 10).

In process of time, however, even this single reception was held to be improper, and the Greek Council in Trullo, canon twenty-nine, A.D. 692, decreed such a celebration to be unlawful, expressly referring to the canon of Carthage. I may remark that the Gallican pilgrim tells us that the Liturgy was celebrated on the Thursday about 4 P.M., and that this was the only day in the year in which it took place in the Chapel on Golgotha ('post crucem,' ap. Duchesne, p. 486). I may also note that the newly discovered 'Testament of our Lord' (ii. 11) speaks of the Eucharistic celebration on this day, but, unfortunately, neither of these is necessarily evidence of an earlier date than the time of St. Augustine. The words, however, of the 'Testament' are remarkable: 'On the fifth day of the last week of Passover let bread and wine be offered,[15] and He who suffered instead of that which He offered, Himself is the offerer' (ܘܗܘ ܕܚܫ ܚܠܦ ܗܘ ܡܐ ܕܩܪܒ ܗܘ ܕܩܪܒ ܀). By this I understand that the writer (who has a considerable amount of enthusiastic, not to say fanciful, thought) agreed with St. Augustine in thinking the sacrifice of the Eucharist to be especially that of the mystical body of Christ, His Church, and that he held the Maundy Thursday celebration to be especially one in which Christ is the priest who offers his people to God.

[15] The Copto-Arabic version has 'ad vesperas,' and adds 'ad implendum mysterium paschae. Item faciat die sabbati.'

The 'Testament' also speaks of a lamp being offered by the Deacon on this day.

The other observances of most ancient date were connected with the special preparation for Easter on the part of catechumens and penitents. In many Churches catechumens were accustomed to repeat the Creed which they had been previously taught (*redditio symboli*), though in other Churches the fixed day for this was Easter Eve. It has also been often supposed,[16] though without sufficient authority, that the ceremonial washing of the feet of catechumens took place on that day, as a feet-washing of certain persons still does in many Continental churches. This is an inference drawn from St. Augustine's two letters to Januarius (54, 10 and 55, 33); but the first passage refers to private bathing, and the second—the feet-washing—is a ceremony that followed Baptism on Easter Eve in many Western Churches.

When the existing feet-washing of inferiors by superiors—which under the name of *Mandatum* gave the name to Maundy Thursday—was introduced into the Western Church, I am not able exactly to specify. Martene quotes the Seventeenth Council of Toledo, A.D. 694, as complaining that it was being in some places neglected. This seems to be the earliest notice of it that has come down to us. It cannot have existed very long in Spain, since Isidore of Seville ('De Eccl. Off.' i. 28) treats the washing of altars, walls and pavements, which took place on the same

[16] As in the article on 'Maundy Thursday' in *Dict. Chr. Ant.* s.v.

day—no doubt as a natural preparation for the Easter festival—as fulfilling the Lord's example. Isidore wrote about A.D. 620, and therefore we may say that the Mandatum was introduced into Spain during the course of the seventh century. The name, of course, is taken from the anthem sung during the ceremony, being the words of St. John xiii. 34, 'A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another: as I have loved you, that ye also love one another.'

Maundy Thursday was, however, certainly the proper day for the spiritual feet-washing—the public absolution of penitents—as St. Jerome witnesses in describing the famous case of Fabiola, who did penance for re-marrying after divorcing her husband ('Ep.' 77, 4 *ad Oceanum*, 'ante diem Paschae'; cp. Innocent. *ad Decentium*, Ambros. 'Ep.' 33 *ad Marcellinam* etc.), and as we learn from many ancient liturgical books.

It was also the day on which preparation was made for Baptism by the consecration of the holy oils during the Liturgy—especially of the oil of exorcism, with which candidates were anointed before Baptism; and of the chrism used in their Confirmation, which immediately succeeded it; and the oil for unction of the sick. There was, I believe, no special propriety in the day, but it was simply a matter of convenience in order that Good Friday might be spent in other more spiritual exercises, and that there might be no hurry on Easter Eve, when there might be a very large number of Baptisms, especially where that

was practically the only day for Baptism in the year.

One other piece of antiquity is preserved in the communion on Maundy Thursday in the so-called Gregorian Sacramentary—or, as it should rather be called, the Sacramentary of Pope Hadrian—sent into Gaul in the time of Charles the Great. (See Duchesne, 'Origines du culte,' pp. 114–119. It is mentioned in a letter somewhere between A.D. 784–791.) This is the administration of the chalice by the Deacon to the Bishop just before he consecrates the holy oils (Migne, 'P. L.' 78, p. 84). The Deacon's special relation to the chalice has already been described in some detail: see above, p. 159 foll.

§ 4. *Good Friday.*

The reaction against the Asiatic custom of closing the fast on Good Friday and having a paschal celebration on that day, as well as a general sense of the unfitness of so sad a day for Eucharistic joy, led to making it a day of solemn service without the Liturgy. Indeed, as we have already seen, Wednesday and Friday do not seem to have been at first liturgical days in the West (except in Africa, p. 328–9) or in Alexandria. The service for Good Friday in the Roman Liturgy in all probability gives us an idea of what such services generally were.[17] They consisted of at least three lessons with Collects and Psalms between them, which were followed by a series of intercessions, like the Collects now said on that day for the Church, the

[17] Duchesne, *l.c.* pp. 159 foll., 164 foll., 238.

clergy, the emperor or king, catechumens, heretics and schismatics, Jews, heathen etc.[18]

The two special ceremonies now in use in the Latin Church, the adoration of the Cross and the 'Mass of the Presanctified,' are both of later date.[19] The second of them, the communion with the reserved host, is in fact excluded by the terms of the well-known letter of Pope Innocent I. to Decentius. The adoration of the Cross, like the observance of Palm Sunday, is an importation from the Church of Jerusalem, where the supposed remains of the true cross discovered by St. Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, were solemnly brought out, laid on a table on which a linen cloth was spread, and kissed by the faithful, who passed round it, entering one way and going out another. This is described by the Gallican pilgrim whom we call Silvia as lasting for several hours. After which a service very like the Roman followed, lasting for three hours (noon to 3 P.M.) and consisting of many lections, psalms and prayers, the lections exhibiting the prophetic description of the Passion and its fulfilment. The authoress speaks of the great effect produced on all present, and their

[18] They are also found in Hadrian's Sacramentary for the Wednesday in Holy Week.

[19] Neither of them is found, for instance, in the description of the papal rites in the Sacramentary of Hadrian nor in the *Ordines* of St. Amand from the Paris manuscript of the ninth century printed by Duchesne as an Appendix: see pp. 451–2, where the Good Friday service is described. But the 'sancta' and the chalices on Maundy Thursday are reserved: see *ib.* p. 450-1, and cp. Duchesne's text, p. 239, n. 2.

sighs and tears at the recitation of the Lord's suffering for us. This custom of venerating the Cross began in the fourth century at Jerusalem, but was not, apparently, introduced into the West till the seventh or eighth. It is reasonable to suppose that, like many other Roman ceremonies, it was introduced from Gaul, partly because it was evidently not at first used in the service conducted by the Pope (Duchesne, p. 238, n.), partly because of the character of the language, particularly of the reproaches or 'Improperia' addressed to the people of Israel, which have a Gallican ring. Probably the first idea was not to kiss or adore the particular cross then and there presented to the people, but the relic of the true cross (as it was supposed) imbedded in it, which was brought from Jerusalem. Not only was it an ambition of almost every pilgrim to possess such a relic, but the ambition was apparently gratified to an indefinite extent; and yet (so faith was taught to believe) the matter of the original cross was in no way diminished. Indeed the Divinity of Christ was by some supposed to be confirmed by the miracle. St. Cyril in his lectures (x. 19) compares the multiplication with that of the loaves at the feeding of the five thousand: 'The holy wood of the Cross is His witness, which is seen among us to this day, and by means of those who have in faith taken thereof has from this place now almost filled the whole world.' And Paulinus of Nola in the same strain says that the Cross at Jerusalem, 'having lively energy in its insensate matter, so gives its wood almost daily to the innumerable desires of men as to suffer

no loss, and remains as if untouched by those who daily take portions from it, and is always venerated as a whole' ('Ep.' 31, 6, 'P. L.' 61, p. 329). The only ancient legend of our own King Arthur is that he carried on his back a cross made at Jerusalem, like the true cross, during a three days' battle with the heathen (Nennius, c. 64 ; cp. 'Annales Cambriae,' *s. a.* A.D. 516, where Badon Hill is mentioned). One writer attaches the legend to a famous battle in the West country, which one antiquary at least has supposed to be at Badbury Rings in Dorset. I may mention also that in the year 1218 the Cathedral of Salisbury had two crosses 'cum ligno dominico' (Hatcher's 'Salisbury,' p. 714). But in time actual relics, however minute, became hard to acquire, and any cross was substituted, although the anthem still implied that the original cross was present (cp. Amal. 'De Div. Off.' i. 14) : 'Ecce lignum crucis in quo salus mundi pependit. Venite adoremus.' The first Western rituals that speak of the adoration describe it as an act of kissing ; then came approach with naked feet; then prostration and kissing the ground, and lastly 'creeping to the cross,' which is frequently mentioned in the controversies at the time of the Reformation.

In the meantime theologians had been busy in developing the doctrine of adoration, and defended the practice which had grown from a natural devotional impulse, directed to something supposed to be historically connected with our Lord's Passion, into an act of formal and positive worship addressed to a symbol. Aquinas ('Sum.' III. q. 25, art. 4) had swept away the

distinction carefully established by the Greek second Council of Nicaea between the true worship (λατρεία) which is alone due to the Divine nature and that ἀσπασμὸς καὶ τιμητικὴ προσκύνησις which is given to the symbol of the cross and to the Gospels and other objects of devotion. I have dealt with this subject in my 'Considerations on Public Worship,' ch. xx., and have shown how the teaching of Aquinas, that absolutely divine worship is to be paid to the Cross (which has never been repudiated by Roman theologians, though some subtle explanation of it has been offered), leads to a state of mind in common people which it is almost impossible to distinguish from idolatry, at any rate as idolatry is practised and explained by an enlightened heathen. Some of the addresses made to the Cross were extraordinarily effusive, and, I must honestly say, repulsive, as well as theologically unsound, while others were highly poetical and rhetorical. My predecessor Bishop Jewel, in his 'Controversy with M. Harding' ('Works,' P. S. i. p. 534) quotes among other passages the following verse of a hymn:

O crux, ave, spes unica
Hoc passionis tempore,
Auge piis iustitiam
Reisque dona veniam;

in which the cross is saluted and desired to increase righteousness in the good and to give pardon to sinners. Such is the natural course of superstition; and although it may be true that prayers exactly of this nature are now no longer said in the Latin Church, at

least in the authorised public services, the teaching of Aquinas still remains authoritative, especially wherever the influence of the present Pope, Leo XIII., extends.

I may remark that the Eastern origin of this service on Good Friday is kept in memory by the Greek form of the *Trisagion* still recited in the Roman Missal : "Αγιος ὁ θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς='Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus immortalis, miserere nobis.' See above, p. 194.

The communion with the Presanctified Sacrament reserved from the previous day is, as I have said, not a part of the original Roman rite. It is not found in books earlier than the eighth or ninth century. Unfortunately, the 'Leonine' Sacramentary, which is the oldest, is defective in this most interesting portion of the year. The ceremony was of the simplest kind,[20] and probably like that which was in use when the faithful communicated at home with the reserved Sacrament, at any rate in the West. The box containing the bread consecrated on the previous day was placed on the altar. The Lord's Prayer was said with its little preface ('Praeceptis salutaribus moniti') and *embolismus* or insertion ('Libera nos, Domine, quaesumus') and the celebrant then placed a piece of

[20] See Duchesne, p. 239. The *Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. 77, ed. Wilson, has 'procedunt cum corpore et sanguinis Domini quod ante die remansit,' where the ungrammatical 'et sanguinis' followed by 'quod' betrays an interpolation. The Sacramentary of Hadrian describes the rite more fully, *l.c.* 86–7. So does Mabillon's *Ordo Romanus I.*

the consecrated bread into the chalice, without saying anything, and thus consecrated it by 'intinction.' Then followed a general communion from the bread hallowed on the previous day and the chalice thus so simply hallowed at the moment.

That a real consecration of the chalice was thus intended I see no reason to doubt, although later writers find a difficulty in it,[21] raised in their minds, no doubt, by the prepossession that our Lord's words, 'This is my blood of the new testament' etc., are necessary to a valid consecration.[22] The practice clearly was not confined to this one day. We find traces of it in an order for Maundy Thursday, in the so-called 'Gelasian Sacramentary'[23]; we find it in the reference to St. Laurence the deacon 'consecrating' the chalice in St. Ambrose ('De Off. Min.' i. 41, § 214); we find it in the early notices of the duty of the Roman acolytes who, as I have already explained (ch. iii. § 4, pp. 159 foll.), took the 'fermentum' from the central altar to the Presbyters at their different 'tituli.'

I should indeed go a step further and suggest that the Roman order of the Good Friday communion

[21] See Mabillon's *Commentarium praevium in Ord. Rom.* (*P. L.* 78, p. 893 foll.) for many quotations bearing on this subject. The difficulty was already felt by Amalarius, who reports the reproof he received from the Roman archdeacon when he questioned him about the custom: *De Eccl. Off.* i. 15, ed. Hittorp; see *l.c.* p. 896.

[22] We have seen that in the *Testament of our Lord* (i. 23) the words are only given as recited over the Bread.

[23] P. 72, ed. Wilson: '*Hoc autem expleto* [*i.e.* the exorcism of oil], *veniens ante altare ponis in ore calicis de ipsa hostia: non dicis* Pax Domini, *nec faciunt pacem: sed communicant et reservant de ipso sacrificio in crastinum unde communicent.*'

was a survival of something still more primitive, that consecration by the Lord's Prayer alone, to which St. Gregory the Great refers and which has been such a crux to liturgists ('Ep.' ix, 12, *alias* vii. 64). If you once get free from the presupposition that a certain form of words is necessary to consecration, it is obvious that the Lord's Prayer—'Give us this day our daily bread'—is much fitter for the consecration of the Sacrament of the Body than of that of the Blood of Christ.

Should reservation ever be restored among us, for the purpose of communion of the sick, the question might be raised whether the Good Friday custom, combined with intinction, might be revived for the consecration of the chalice. Both the method of administration adopted by the Greek Church, of using bread into which a little wine has been poured and then dried and crumbled, and that of actually carrying a little vessel of wine, which has old authority, have some difficulties. The difficulty of consecration by intinction is that to many it would seem of doubtful validity. I do not, however, for various reasons, wish for reservation to be restored: and I think that the three dangers attending it must be obvious to everyone. First I would put the deprival of the sick of the blessing of a fuller service than that which accompanies reception of a reserved Sacrament; secondly, the separation of their actual communion from that of their pastor and of other faithful people; thirdly, the danger on the one side of superstition and on the other of irreverence in reserving the consecrated Sacrament in church and the carrying of it through the streets.

§ 5. *Easter Eve.*

The solemn celebration of Baptism, followed immediately by Confirmation and first communion on Easter Day or in the night which, according to our present reckoning, precedes it, was the conclusion of the whole long preparation of Lent. I shall attempt to describe the ceremonies of Baptism and Confirmation on another occasion. But there are other particulars in the Easter Eve services which are striking enough to require treatment here. These are the blessing of the new fire and of the paschal taper.

Setting aside coincidences and correspondences which may suggest a pre-Christian origin (in part at any rate) for some of the ceremonies of Easter Eve, there is a threefold symbolism within the Church which may naturally be supposed to govern these services. First, there is the expression of the joy of Christ's Resurrection from the grave in the rekindling of an extinguished light; secondly, there is the thought of going forth to meet Him with loins girt, and lights burning, as in the direct admonition in St. Luke and in the parable of the Ten Virgins; thirdly, there is the thought of Baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire, which not only has its visible prototype in the miracle of Pentecost, but may be connected with the very ancient legend of a fire which appeared on the Jordan at the time of the Lord's own Baptism (Justin, 'Dial. cum Tryphone,' 88; cp. Epiphan. 'Haer. Ebion.' xxx. 13).

The ceremony of the new fire, which still fills

so large a space in the popular mind at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, is peculiar to that Church in the East, nor can it be traced there higher than *circa* A.D. 870. The Frankish monk Bernard writes: 'On Holy Saturday, which is the vigil of Easter, service begins in the morning in the church, and when the office is over, "Kyrie eleison" is sung until, on the coming of an angel, light is kindled in the lamps which hang over the abovenamed sepulchre, from which light the Patriarch gives to the Bishops and the rest of the people that they may light up their own dwellings with it.'[24] In the West there is an earlier trace of such a belief. Gregory of Tours speaks of a miraculous light which shone on a Good Friday about 9 P.M. before the relics brought from Jerusalem A.D. 569 by Queen Radegund in her nunnery at Poitiers ('de gl. mart.' i. 5, p. 725). The first trace of a regular fire at Easter is in the letter of Pope Zacharias (A.D. 741–751) to St. Boniface, 'Ep.' 12, which shows that the ceremony of making it was unknown then at Rome, but implies that St. Boniface knew of a custom of producing it with burning-glasses (*crystalli*). Duchesne supposes that it was a British or Irish peculiarity. Thus the earliest notice of making the holy fire is Western, and this supports the thesis of J. L. Mosheim (see below Appendix E, pp. 462–3) that the Latin monks introduced by Charles the Great into the Holy Sepulchre in the time of

[24] See Martene, iii. 414 (lib. iv. c. xxiv. § 9); cp. pp. 406–7, 436.

Harûn al Rashid (799–801) were the originators of the custom there. This thesis was taken up and developed by Koray in his dialogue on the subject (Ἄτακτα, iii. 327–417), who supposes that the Latins introduced the fire, after the time of Photius (A.D. 857), to attract pilgrims, whose visits had fallen off. Usually the light is now made in the West by striking a flint on steel or striking two stones together. At Florence a special historical stone is used, brought by one of the Pazzi family, who was the first to scale the walls of the Holy City when it was taken by Godfrey of Bouillon, in A.D. 1099. This was impressed on my mind by a poem which I once heard the Florentine poet, dall' Ongaro, recite, in which he compared the sacred fire of the Pazzi with the spark which none but Garibaldi ('il pazzo di Caprera') had been able to kindle, by which the new fire of liberty had been set alight throughout Italy. This was on Easter Eve 1868. The custom at Florence is for a dove, or rather the figure of a dove, running on wires, to carry the new fire to the candles on the altar.

It is taken for granted by Duchesne (p. 240) that the symbolism of an extinguished and rekindled light is connected with our Saviour's Death and Resurrection. I am bound, however, to say that I can find no evidence of this thought in the prayers collected by Martene or even those in the modern Roman Missal in connection with the blessing of the new fire, except to a small extent in the benediction of the lamp or taper, *e.g.* in the Mozarabic Missal quoted by Martene, iii. p. 460.

The thoughts in the prayers, as in the Roman Missal at the present day, are of Christ the corner stone, of the use of fire in common life, of the creation of light, of the pillar of fire in the exodus from Egypt, of the fiery darts of the enemy and, in the Toulouse Missal, of the burning bush, and the fiery tongues of Pentecost (Martene, iii. p. 408), of anything in fact that may be found in Scripture except that which seems to us most natural.

I am therefore inclined to suppose that the blessing of the new fire was at first, at any rate in the West, something appropriate to a spring festival and an observance of natural religion rather than anything closely connected with the mystery of the Resurrection. This is suggested to us by the ceremonies used as well as by the prayers.

The blessing of the lamp or taper seems to be considerably older. The reference in the 'Testament of our Lord,' ii. 11, to the presentation of a lamp by the Deacon on Maundy Thursday may possibly refer to something of the kind. The lights on Easter Eve have not anything necessarily to do with new fire, since we find them mentioned in the letter of Pope Zacharias to St. Boniface, in which he says that he knows nothing about the latter. They were lighted, he tells us, from lamps kept burning in a secret place, like the holy of holies in the tabernacle, 'for the baptism of the sacred font.' They were really, as far as Christian symbolism goes, intended to be connected with Baptism and nothing else.

The blessing of a Paschal taper is a Spanish and

Gallican rite which has been gradually introduced into Rome. The first definite reference to it, if I mistake not, is in the ninth canon of the Fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633) in which its introduction [25] into Gallican churches is recommended 'propter unitatem pacis.' It came to Rome apparently by way of Southern Italy. The attention of scholars has been generally directed to it by the beautifully written and illustrated 'Exultet' rolls (often in Lombard characters, dating usually from the tenth to the twelfth century) in which the service was contained. They are called 'Exultet' from the first words, 'Exultet iam angelica turba caelorum! Exultent divina mysteria!' [26] This roll was read by a Deacon (not a Priest or Bishop), and of course, where there was one, by the Archdeacon. As he went on with his long hymn-like proclamation, given out from the ambon or pulpit, the roll naturally fell over the edge of the desk; and, to give the people something to fill their minds and inform them of the thoughts of the Latin text, it was illustrated with pictures turned upside down, so that, as the roll fell, the pictures might be seen the right way upwards.

In this roll we find clearer references than elsewhere to the light of the Resurrection connected with the pillar of fire and the night of release from Egypt. 'Haec nox est quae hodie per universum

[25] The word used is 'conservetur,' but this seems intended to beg the question of the antiquity of the rite rather than to state the fact of previous use in Gaul.

[26] There is a bright account of the effect of these ceremonies (Florence, 1894) in Abp. Benson's *Life*, ii. 241–3.

mundum in Christo credentes, a vitiis saeculi segregatos et caligine peccatorum, reddit gratiae, sociat sanctitati. Haec nox est in qua, destructis vinculis mortis, Christus ab inferis victor ascendit. Nihil enim nasci profuit, nisi redimi profuisset.'

Then follows the famous theological paradox, 'O certe necessarium Adae peccatum, quod Christi morte deletum est! O felix culpa, quae talem et tantum meruit habere redemptorem!' and some fine thoughts on the beauty and blessedness of the night of resurrection.

Then comes the curious and fanciful praise of the bee, its ingenuity and industry, and finally its virginity, which is compared at the end with that of the Mother of the Lord.

The illustrations in these rolls consist of figures of angels, the Church, the officiating Deacon, bees, and the like. Also they have sometimes the portraits of the reigning emperor or emperors.[27]

The taper thus solemnly consecrated is lighted at every service during the Pentecostal or Easter Season and is considered an emblem of the presence of Christ. But its more immediate use is in the blessing of the font. It is immersed into the water with prayer for the coming down of the Holy Spirit upon it. Hugh Ménard, a Benedictine monk, in his notes on this custom mentions the parallel heathen rite of plunging a burning brand taken from an altar into

[27] Such rolls exist in the Vatican, Barberini, and Minerva (B. 1, 13, *c.* A.D. 975) libraries at Rome, at Pisa, and in the British Museum (Add. MS. 30337, *c.* A.D. 1165); cp. *Pal. Soc.* ser 1, pl. 146.

lustral water (*P. L.* 78, p. 340), quoting Euripides, *Herc. furens*, 928–9 :

> Μέλλων δὲ δαλὸν χειρὶ δεξιᾷ φέρειν
> Εἰς χέρνιβ' ὡς βάψειεν Ἀλκμήνης τόκος.

Possibly, then, this rite may have been the adoption of a popular heathen ceremony—at once innocent and symbolic—while in the East it was replaced by the use of a cross, particularly at Epiphany ; see p. 402.

The blessing of the Paschal taper is also now connected with a blessing of incense, but this, according to Duchesne, is an afterthought due to a misunderstanding of the words ' sacrificium vespertinum incensi.' It may, however, have something to do with the taking of fire in a censer, which was a natural way of carrying it from the outside to the inside of a church.

§ 6. *Easter Day.*

The first celebration on Easter Day (at present printed under the head of Easter Eve) in the Roman rite preserves much of the ancient form [28] ; just as we find to be the case in the service of Good Friday. First comes the Litany and then the *Gloria in excelsis*, which was originally part of the morning prayer, and, as far as the Liturgy was concerned, was confined to the Easter Festival. But the other pieces of chanted music introduced towards the end of the fourth century, the Introit, the Offertory and the antiphon called the ' Communion,' are excluded. The *Agnus Dei* was not introduced till the seventh

[28] See Duchesne, p. 246 ; cp. *Sacr. Greg.* l.c. p. 91.

century, and is of course not said; nor is the Creed recited. The only other chants are the Gradual—the relic of a Psalm said between the Epistle and the Gospel—and the *Sanctus*, which are the oldest of the musical parts of the Liturgy.

Martene notices among the peculiar features of Easter Day in the West a blessing of the flesh of a paschal lamb and the communion in both kinds, lasting up to the fifteenth century. The former is attacked by Walafrid Strabo and by the Greeks (see Martene, pp. 487–8), but was observed, in a modified form, in the Church of Rome in the twelfth century.[29]

Communion on Easter Day at Rome was received by anyone who was properly prepared, and, as far as the Sacrament of the Body of Christ is concerned, from the hands of the Pope. It was also received in both kinds, and the cup was administered by means of a tube. This we learn from the 'Ordo' written by Amelius, Bishop of Senogallia, in the last quarter of the fourteenth century (*circa* 1378–1398), chapter 85 (*P. L.* 78, p. 1333). It was therefore a more than usually rapid change of front, and more unjust than is generally supposed, for the Council of Constance to decree, on 15 June 1415, that 'Since the custom [of communion in one kind] has been reasonably introduced by the Church and the holy Fathers and has for a very long time been observed, it is to be con-

[29] See *Ordo Romanus XI.*, written for the use of Guido di Castello (Pope Celestine II.) in 1143: *P. L.* 78, pp. 1043 foll. My brother refers me to Egbert, *Pont.* pp. 129 f., Lacy, *Pont.* p. 216, *Missal of Robert of Jumièges* (H.B.S.), p. 103, and *Sarum Manual* (Surtees Soc. vol. 63, App.), pp. 28* and 43*.

sidered a law ('habenda est pro lege') which it is not permitted to reprobate or without the authority of the Church to change at discretion.' (See the full quotation in Gieseler, E. T. v. p. 61.)

The statement about the observance of the custom 'for a very long time' may perhaps have been supposed to be justified by the Good Friday celebration; but this has another explanation, as we have seen. The communion in private houses and by the solitaries which is also alleged as a precedent may have been similarly amplified by intinction; and this private communion, in any case, had long been abolished. The general custom of the Church had certainly been to communicate regularly in both kinds at its public services up to the twelfth century: see Bona, 'Rer. Liturg.' ii. 18, 1. From this time the bad custom of communicating the people only in one kind had gradually grown up under pretext of avoiding effusion of the chalice. (Cp. Scudamore, 'N.E.' 711 foll.) But the sudden change of making illegal what was in use some forty years before, or perhaps less, in the papal chapel, and punishing men for upholding the old practice, is an astonishing instance of disproportionat e misuse of power on the part of a clerica assembly.

VIII

LATER CHRISTIAN FESTIVALS.

§ 1. *Christmastide and Epiphany.*

We have already seen that progress in the formation of the Christian Kalendar advanced slowly in the first three centuries. First came Sunday as a day of universal obligation probably from Apostolic times. Then, in some places, two weekly fasts were introduced as helps to holiness—no doubt under the stimulus of stricter Jewish example. Then came the annual Paschal Fast, which we call Good Friday, together with the Feast, which followed it either immediately or two days later. This we can trace up to and perhaps earlier than the middle of the second century, though, strangely enough, it has left no traces in contemporary literature. Then gradually the Pentecostal and Lenten seasons developed, and by the end of the fourth century the Christmas and New Year cycle of festivals about which we are now to give some details.

The strife as to Apostolic and other traditions concerning the date of Pascha, the dependence upon the Jews and the attempts to get quit of it, the controversies as to cycles and Kalendars and their manifold inconveniences, naturally led our forefathers to be shy of making any further attempts to set up

moveable feasts. Nor was there any great pressure upon them to enlarge the Kalendar until the influx of newly-converted and half-converted pagans required them to substitute a series of festivals answering in some degree to those which these incomers had hitherto enjoyed—especially when they were innocent ceremonies of natural religion connected with the seasons and the like, or with the lives and fate of heroes.

The most natural points for such devotion were the turning points in the life of our Saviour, His Annunciation, Birth and Baptism, and in a less degree His Circumcision and Presentation in the Temple. But strange as it may seem, the celebration of these anniversaries or festivals cannot be traced beyond the persecution of Diocletian and they only came gradually into observance during the course of the fourth century. Certain Gnostics, followers of Basilides, seem to have anticipated the Church in this as in some other matters: but we know that the days were fixed—at any rate of some of them—a considerable time before the festival observance began.

This is particularly the case as regards Christmas Day, which is popularly[1] supposed to be first mentioned in the Christian portion of the Philocalian Kalendar of A.D. 336. As a matter of fact, however, Christmas Day was fixed to 25 December by

[1] As by Duchesne (*Orgines du culte chrétien*, p. 248), who proposes an ingenious solution of the problem why the day was chosen, pp. 250 foll.

Hippolytus of Rome, just about a century before that, when he wrote his Commentary on Daniel. In explaining this matter, which is of considerable interest, I must express my obligations to an excellent paper of Dr. Salmon's entitled 'The Commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel,' contained in the eighth volume of the Dublin 'Hermathena' published in 1893. I have already spoken of it in discussing the Easter tables of the same father on which Dr. Salmon has thrown much light.

There seems to have been no early tradition in the Church as to the exact day either of the Passion or of the Nativity: but there clearly was a tradition that the Annunciation or Incarnation proper took place at the Passover. We do not know whether this was an independent tradition, or was an opinion derived from a sense of the inherent fitness of things, that our Lord's earthly life should consist of an exact number of years. Clearly, however, those who accepted this tradition were bound to place the Nativity about the winter solstice or the beginning of the new year: and this we find to be the ruling supposition both in the West and in the East, the West fixing on 25 December, and the East on 6 January. Both these dates appear to depend upon a computation of the Paschal full-moon.

The earliest computation which we have of the Annunciation is that of Hippolytus (*circa* A.D. 216–224), who by calculation of Passovers backwards in a cycle of 112 years fixed the Passover of the Crucifixion

on 25 March A.D. 29 and that of the 'Genesis' (Γένεσις) or Annunciation on 2 April B.C. 1, or Anno Mundi 5502. This would have brought the Nativity to 2 January. But the Commentaries on Daniel, which have been more recently discovered than Hippolytus's other works,[2] and have now been carefully and fully edited, show that he changed his mind on this subject, probably quite at the close of his life, and put the Γένεσις two years earlier. This gave our Lord thirty-two years instead of thirty, and by the rules of Hippolytus's eight or sixteen years' cycle, brought the two days of the Genesis and the Passion to the same day of the month, 25 March,[3] and the Genesis to the Year of the World 5500 or B.C. 3, and the Nativity to 25 December of the same year. Curiously enough, while in the cycle Hippolytus mentions only the Genesis and the Passion, in the Commentary on Daniel he mentions only the Nativity, on 25 December, and the Passion, on 25 March.[4] For our purpose, however, in

[2] Bardenhewer collected much new material in his book published in 1877. Bonwetsch has now edited the whole in the series of Greek Fathers published for the Prussian Academy of Sciences (Leipzig, 1897). The passage is in iv. 23, p. 244, of Bonwetsch.

[3] This synchronism was accepted as an established one by St. Augustine, *De Trin.* iv. 5: 'Sicut a majoribus traditum suscipiens Ecclesiae custodit auctoritas, VIII. calendas Aprilis conceptus creditur quo et passus'; and so *In Hept.* ii. 90.

[4] It is quite clear, however, from the cycle what day the 'Genesis' would be. The author of the *De Pascha Computus*, A.D. 243 (the fifth year of Gordian), who bases his system on the sixteen-year cycle, adopts Hippolytus's date for the Passion, VIII. Kl. April. = 25 March, according to the reading of the Cottonian MS., or, according to the Rheims MS., V. Id. April. = 9 April (ch. 10). He puts the Nativitas (not the 'Genesis,' but perhaps a

this present inquiry this is sufficient, because it shows that 25 December for Christmas Day was a date arrived at by Hippolytus about A.D. 235. The reason why he extended the length of our Lord's earthly sojourn may well have been, as Dr. Salmon suggests, a study of St. John's chronology, which is incompatible with the old idea that the ministry of our Lord was only one year in duration, as many thought, and as he certainly thought when he constructed the tables.

There is therefore no necessity to insist upon the parallelism or concurrence between Christmas Day and the winter solstice as if it explained the choice of 25 December; though this synchronism may have led to the prominence afterwards given to Christmas Day. Indeed, there is very little, if any, notice in classical heathen literature of a mid-winter festival on this day. The earliest reference to it is, I believe, that of Tertullian in his book 'On Idolatry,' written about A.D. 200, in which he complains of Christians observing heathen festivals, and among others the 'Brumae' (ch. 10 and 14) but with no detail. The observations of Hippolytus were of course considerably after this date, but there seems absolutely no reason to think they were biassed by the concurrence of the 'Brumae.' Others besides himself saw reason to lengthen the period of our Lord's ministry from one year to $2\frac{1}{2}$ or $3\frac{1}{2}$ at the least; and it is indeed strange

misunderstanding of it) V. Kl. Ap. = 28 March in ch. 18, where there is no difference of reading. Ought we to read V. Kl. April. also in the previous passage? Dr. Salmon supposes that the dates were put on three days because of the observed error in the cycle of Hippolytus (*Hermathena*, viii. p. 167 n.).

that, knowing St. Irenaeus as he did, he did not more quickly accept his view—at any rate in part—of a longer ministry (see Iren. 'Haer.' ii. 22, 3–5). Having lengthened it, Hippolytus was automatically brought to 25 December in following out the indications of his cycle.

What we have to notice, however, is that in the course of the fourth century, when the cycle of Christian festivals began to grow, Christmas Day began to be observed at Rome, apparently about the same time as the institution or popular acceptance of the festival of the Sun or Mithras, which was celebrated by Circensian games on the same day. The two appear in parallel documents connected with the name of Philocalus, a calligrapher who made a compilation in the year 354.[5] In the heathen form of the Kalendar of Philocalus, which belongs apparently to the last year

[5] The Liberian Catalogue of the Popes, a Kalendar of Christian commemorations, and the heathen Kalendar just referred to, together with two other important chronological documents, were all published together, most of them for the first time, by the Jesuit Gilles Boucher (Aegidius Bucherius) in his commentary on Victorius of Aquitaine (Antwerp, 1634) from the same manuscript, then at Brussels. There is a good account of the matter in Th. Mommsen's treatise 'Ueber den Chronographen vom Jahre 354,' in the *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Academy of Saxony, 1850; in his first volume of the *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* pp. 332 foll., and in Duchesne's *Liber Pontificalis I.* pp. vi. foll. (Paris, 1886). In the *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* Mommsen prints only the Philocalian heathen Kalendar and the Gallican Kalendar of Polemius Silvius. The Christian documents, viz. the Liberian Catalogue, in three texts, the Christian form of the Philocalian Kalendars, and the Kalendar of Polemius, are all printed in the thirteenth volume of Migne's *P. L.* The Philocalian 'depositiones' and the Carthaginian Kalendar of *circa* A.D. 408 are also printed as an Appendix to Ruinart's *Acta*

but one of the Emperor Constantine the Great (A.D. 336), we have this entry on 25 December: 'Natalis Invicti. C[ircenses]. m[issus] xxx.': *i.e.* 'The Birthday of the unconquerable Sun; Circensian games are held in which thirty courses are run.' This meant a great festival, as each course or 'missus' consisted of seven rounds of the circus, four or six chariots running abreast.

The Christian portion of the same manuscript gives 'VIII Kal. Jan. Natus Christus in Bethleem Iudeae' and the 'depositiones' or burial days of twelve Popes and a larger number of martyrs. All the martyrs, it may be noticed, are Roman, except Perpetua and Felicitas (7 March) and Cyprian (who is mentioned without Cornelius, 14 September), who are African, and one Ariston (13 December), who is mentioned as commemorated in Pontus. The only other holy day mentioned is the 'Natale Petri de Cathedra' on 22 February, of which we shall speak later (p. 416). There are no days of Apostles mentioned, except (of course) St. Peter and St. Paul, who were buried at Rome (see p. 404). We have, therefore, here very valuable negative as well as positive evidence as to the growth of the Kalendar.

We have explained the origin of Christmas Day in the West. Can we explain the parallel but differing

Martyrum. The manuscript used by Boucher has disappeared, but a copy of it exists, and another manuscript exists in the Imp. Lib. at Vienna, no. 3416. The heathen and the Christian Kalendars seem to be about the same date, the end of the reign of Constantine or the beginning of that of his son Constantius.

date observed in the East? It is easy to form a hypothetical explanation: but actual facts are not yet forthcoming. I think, however, that the solution lies in the direction of a fact mentioned by Sozomen ('H. E.' vii. 18),[6] that a sect of Montanists considered 6 April to be the day of the Passover. This may probably have been an opinion quite unconnected with their sect. Certainly if it had been widely spread it would account for the observance of 6 January, supposing that the opinion of the coincidence of the Annunciation with the Passover was also widely held.

The dates given by Clement as computed in his time, either by the Church or the followers of Basilides, seem to be quite independent.[7] The only point of contact is that some of the Basilidians fixed the day of our Lord's Baptism to 6 January = 11 Tybi (see Clem. Alex. 'Strom.' i. 21, §§ 145, 146), but Clement's discussion is interesting as showing (1) that there was no consistent tradition in the Church, but that all was a work of calculation; (2) that in the first quarter of the third century not a little interest was felt in the subject, and that the tendency was to fix solar rather than lunar dates.

For whatever reason 6 January may have been

[6] I owe this reference to Duchesne.

[7] They are: for the Γένεσις (Annunciation or Birth?) 25 Pachon = 20 May; *Baptism*, 15 or 11 Tybi = 11 or 6 Jan.; *Passion*, 25 Phamenoth = 21 March, or 25 or 19 Pharmuthi = 22 or 16 April; *Birth*, 24 or 25 Pharmuthi = 21 or 22 April. It is not clear which of these dates besides those of the Baptism are ascribed to the Basilidians.

chosen, it came to be observed in the Eastern Church about the year 300 A.D. We have two evidences of this, wide apart, one from the narrative of the martyrdom of St. Philip, Bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, which happened just before this festival A.D. 304 (see Ruinart, 'Acta'); the other a notice of it in the 'Summary of Doctrine for Solitaries' composed in Egypt about the same time (see above, Introd. p. 51). During the course of the century it spread into the West, but by way of Gaul and Spain, which were usually more receptive of Eastern customs than Rome. The festival of the Epiphany was kept by the emperor Julian in A.D. 361 at Vienne in Gaul just before his apostasy,[8] and apparently as a festival of the Nativity. A Spanish Council (that of Saragossa) of A.D. 380 enforced its observance and that of the three weeks before it, with no mention of Christmas Day (Conc. Caesaraug. I. canon 4). The Carthaginian Kalendar of the fifth century and that of Polemius Silvius[9] of A.D. 448 contain both Christmas and Epiphany. The note of the latter is interesting as showing a combination of the Festival of the Magi, which is of Western observance, with those of the Miracle of Cana and the Baptism, which belong to the East. Its observance in Gaul was closely connected with the administration of Baptism, and so we find it

[8] Amm. Marcell. *Hist.* xxi. 2; cp. Zonaras, *Annal.* xiii. 11: τῆς γενεθλίου Σωτῆρος ἡμέρας ἐφεστηκυίας.

[9] P. Silvius in *P. L.* 13, p. 676: 'VIII. Idus Epiphania quo die, interpositis temporibus, stella magis Dominum natum nuntiabat, et aqua vinum facta, vel in amne Iordanis Salvator baptizatus est.'

in Africa.[10] This practice was, however, discontinued at Rome, where the Popes, first Siricius and then Leo, treated it as a novelty to be put down. In fact, Epiphany was observed at Rome almost entirely as the festival of the Magi, whose visit is the main subject of Pope Leo's eight sermons on the day.[11]

In the East the festival had a broader character, as is implied by the plural form Τὰ Ἐπιφάνια, 'the Epiphanies,' sometimes Τὰ Θεοφάνια, 'the divine manifestations.' For just as it was supposed that the Annunciation and the Crucifixion fell on the Passover Day, so the Birth, the Baptism, the first miracle and the feeding of the five thousand were all considered to belong to 6 January, or at any rate were commemorated at the same time. The Western Christmas Day was, however. introduced into Antioch about A.D. 375, in the time of St. Chrysostom. But at Jerusalem the Nativity was still kept on 6 January, as we learn from the Gallican pilgrim; and at Alexandria Western Christmas was not introduced till about the time of the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 430.[12]

[10] See Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iii. p. 118, cp. i. pp. 3 foll. For Africa see Victor Vitensis, *De Persecutione Vandalica*, ii. 47, about the miracle worked on a blind man at the Epiphany Baptism by Eugenius, Bishop of Carthage. On the other hand see Siricius (A.D. 384–389) *ad Himerium Tarraconensem*, 2 (*P. L.* 13, p. 1134), and Leo I. *Ep.* 16, 1 *ad Siciliae Episcopos*.

[11] The Magi are already called 'kings' by Tertullian, *Adv. Iud.* 9; and Augustine (*Serm.* 203) treats the festival as connected with the manifestation of the Redeemer of all nations.

[12] Cassian, *Collatio* x. 2; Gennadius, *De Viris Ill.* 59.

The Epiphany is still observed by the Armenians as the feast of the Nativity.

In the Greek Church the water for Baptism and for other purposes is solemnly blessed on the Epiphany, people are sprinkled with it or bathe in it and much of it is taken home by those who are present for the use of the sick and to be employed as a sort of charm. St. Chrysostom refers to this water as being miraculously preserved sweet for one or even more years.[13]

The Greek service for the blessing of the water is a very fine one. It is evidently based on the local service for the blessing of the river Jordan: indeed, the chief prayer in it is ascribed to Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and contains expressions referring directly to that river. The hole cut in the ice of the River Neva at St. Petersburg is actually called the Jordan. Usually, it seems, the service takes place at the font or tank. But there is—at least in some places—a service also at the sea, the water of which is blessed by throwing or plunging the cross into it, just as the font is blessed. I have seen this done at Kyrenia in Cyprus, in 1898, first in the church

[13] St. Chrys. *De Baptismo Christi*, § 2, ed. Gaume, ii. p. 436. The service is called *ἀκολουθία τοῦ μεγάλου ἁγιασμοῦ*. The prayer of Sophronius may be found on pp. 356-9 of *Εὐχολόγιον*, ed. 1885. Cp. Neale, *Eastern Church*, ii. p. 754, where he quotes Dr. King's description of the ceremony at St. Petersburg (*Greek Church in Russia*, p. 384, Lond. 1772). The Abyssinians had a sort of renewal of baptism on this day, but it seems identical in origin with the aspersion practised elsewhere on the Epiphany. Epiphanius believed that water was annually turned into wine on this day at Cibyra in Caria, and Gerasa in Arabia (*Haer.* 51, c. 29, 30).

and then outside at the harbour. A number of young men stood on the bank ready to plunge in and seize the cross and bring it back. The one who was successful swam with it to a little vessel riding at anchor, climbed up the chains and exhibited it in triumph, and then swam back again, receiving a small reward for his pains.

§ 2. *Festivals of Saints following Christmas. Its Octave.*

About the end of the fourth century also arose the happy thought of commemorating the great Saints of the New Testament in close connection with the Nativity—not from any tradition as to dates, but in order to fill out the joyful thought of Christ's gifts to men in His coming into the world to raise humanity to a new pitch of holiness and excellence.

This usage can be traced to the latter years of the fourth century, though the form of it was not quite the same as our own.

The earliest definitely recorded Saint's Day is that of St. Stephen ('Ap. Const.' viii. 32), and, though the date is not named, there is little doubt that 26 December is meant. The 27th was at first the day of St. James and St. John (the sons of Zebedee), the 28th that of St. Peter and St. Paul. We can trace this observance in substance to the time of St. Basil, in whose funeral oration by his brother, Gregory of Nyssa, it is mentioned that the Church kept the festivals of SS. Stephen, Peter, James, John and Paul after

Christmas and before the first of January, on which day Basil died A.D. 379 ('P.G.' 46, 789). Other early Kalendars of about the same date confirm the usage. The Armenians, who do not keep the festival of Christmas, celebrate the memory of David the θεοπάτωρ and James the ἀδελφόθεος on 25 December. This last festival is of Palestinian origin.[14]

We do not know why the double festival of St. James and St. John was divided in the West; for it was adopted in the old form from the East in African and Gallican Kalendars. Cp. Martene, lib. iv. c. xiii. § 10 (iii. p. 110). In the Carthaginian it is 'St. John Baptist and James the Apostle, whom Herod killed'—a natural union of two conspicuous Herodian martyrs, though the Herods were different, viz. Antipas and Agrippa I. respectively. But there is, I think, no distinct trace of any commemoration but that of St. John the Apostle in Roman service books on 27 December.[15]

The festival of St. Peter and St. Paul was kept at Rome on 29 June from a comparatively early date: that being the day on which, in A.D. 258, their remains were solemnly translated to the place called 'Ad Catacumbas' at the third milestone on the Appain

[14] Cosmas Indicopleustes, *P. G.* 88, p. 19. The titles θεοπάτωρ and ἀδελφόθεος illustrate the use of θεοτόκος.

[15] The Leonine Sacramentary has, however, some of its collects in the plural referring to 'Apostles,' 'birthdays of the Apostles,' and 'martyrs' (ed. Feltoe, pp. 165-6), which may be a hint of an earlier state of things. In some Western Churches the commemoration was, not of the death, but of the 'transitus' or 'assumption' of St. John (Kraus, s.v. *Feste*, p. 499). In the Sacramentary of Hadrian, VIII. Kal. Aug. (25 July) we have 'Natalis S. Iacobi Apostoli'; but with no hint as to which of the Jameses is intended.

Way, and having, apparently, nothing to do with any tradition as to the actual date on which they suffered. Their relics were afterwards divided again, in the time of Constantine, and removed to the great basilicas built in their honour, but no change was made in the day of their festival. This day, then, being already observed at Rome, 28 December was ready for another commemoration, and that was found in the 'Innocents' of Bethlehem—so called at Rome, but in African and Gallican Kalendars called 'Infantes.' The institution of this festival goes back probably to the fifth century, as it is found in the Leonine Sacramentary and those that follow it. One of the Collects in the oldest Sacramentary may be worth quoting:

'Deus qui, licet sis magnus in magnis, mirabilia tamen gloriosius operaris in minimis: da nobis quaesumus in eorum celebritate gaudere qui Filio tuo Domino nostro testimonium praebuerunt etiam non loquentes: per I. C. D. N.' (ed. Feltoe, p. 167).

In some of the Western Churches in later days the three festivals that followed Christmas were observed in a peculiar way. On St. Stephen's Day Deacons naturally took the principal part; on St. John's Day Presbyters, and on Innocents' Day the children of the choir (Martene, iii. p. 110 foll.). On St. John's Day they enthroned their Bishop and held a service with him; and at Vespers when the Precentor came to the verse in the Magnificat 'He hath put down the mighty from their seats' he gave up his staff to the Precentor of the boys, and then they went into the upper stalls while the canons took the lower seats. After service the Precentor gave them a feast at his house. The

next day was one of special sports and revelries in which the boys took the lead.

This festival was observed with a good deal of licence and gradually abolished: but when Martene wrote, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, it was still kept up at Lyons and in some other churches (iii. p. 112).

The festival of the Circumcision on 1 January is the natural complement to the cycle of Christmas. In the West it was originally simply the Octave of Christmas (*Octavas Domini*), with some special reference to the Blessed Virgin. The Preface summing up the lessons of Christmas week in the Gelasian Sacramentary is rather interesting, though the latter part* is clearly Gallican, not Roman, not being found in the Sacramentary of Hadrian, and wanting the simplicity of the Roman style:

'Through Christ our Lord: the octave of whose Nativity we celebrate adoring thy marvels, O Lord. For she who bore Him is both mother and virgin: He who was born is both an infant and God. *Right well have the heavens spoken, angels given gratulations, shepherds rejoiced, the wise men become changed, kings been disturbed, infants been crowned with a glorious passion. Suckle, O mother, our food: suckle the bread that comes down from heaven, laid in a crib (*praesepio*) as though He were the food of pious beasts of burden. For there the ox knew his owner and the ass his master's crib, that is to the circumcision and the uncircumcision. Which also the Saviour and our Lord taken up by Simeon in the Temple deigned most fully to fulfil.* Therefore with angels' etc.

In the West also it was a fast, to counteract the excesses of the heathen New Year, when a sort of carnival, with dressing up in the forms of animals, was celebrated. One of our antiquaries (Rev. C. H. Mayo) discovered a horned mask or 'ooser' in 1891, no doubt for use at such a mumming festival ('Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries,' ii. § 239. Cp. Strutt's 'Sports and Pastimes,' p. 160, 1833).

§ 3. *Festivals of the Blessed Virgin and of St. John the Baptist.*

We might naturally have expected that some more personal commemoration of the Blessed Virgin would have been added to the galaxy of Christmas. So indeed it was in certain Churches; but not in those of the most influence. The Nestorian Kalendar has such a festival, on the second Friday after Christmas; and other Saints' Days follow on succeeding Fridays (viz. St. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, the four Evangelists and St. Stephen). The Copts have a similar festival of the Virgin on 16 January, and Gregory of Tours marks one for Gaul about the same date. But no such festival was known at Rome, except the octave of Christmas, until the seventh century, when four festivals of the Virgin were adopted from Constantinople.

The earliest of these is that of the Ὑπαπαντή or 'Occursus Symeonis,' or, as our Prayer-book rightly calls it, 'The Presentation of Christ in the Temple,' forty days after Christmas, and therefore on 2 February if you follow the Western date, but on the 14th if you

follow the Greek date. The earliest person who mentions it is 'Silvia,' who speaks of it as 'the fortieth day after Epiphany'—'Quadragesima Epiphaniae.' She mentions the regular subjects of the sermons preached on this day as taken from that place of the Gospel 'where on the fortieth day Joseph and Mary brought the Lord into the Temple, and Symeon and Anna the prophetess, the daughter of Samuhel [*sic*], saw Him, and of the words which they said when they saw the Lord, and of the offering which the parents offered.' This description shows that it was there, at its source, a festival of our Lord, as our own Church teaches us to regard it, rather than one of the Blessed Virgin; and it appears to have had its origin, like the adoration of the Cross, in the Holy City. The Western procession and blessing of candles probably takes the place of a heathen ceremony of lustration (Martene, iii. 127).

As to the Annunciation, we have seen that the date (25 March) is older than the time of St. Augustine. But this was regarded as the Γένεσις Χριστοῦ rather than as a day to be observed in honour of the Blessed Virgin; and indeed there is no clear evidence of its being observed as a festival *at all* before the Trullan Council (A.D. 692: c. 52). It is of course intended to be an exact period before 25 December.

Two other festivals, more directly touching the Blessed Virgin, are those of her Nativity, 8 September, and her death, 15 August. These four are marked in the Gelasian Sacramentary towards the beginning of

the eighth century, but they were unknown in the age of St. Gregory and in Britain after his time.

In the Gelasian Sacramentary, though the festival is called 'Assumptio,' there is no hint at the legendary incidents of a death which was no death unless it be in the words of the Collect called 'Secreta'—'quia ad tua praeconia recurrit ad laudem quod vel talis assumpta est.' But in the Sacramentary of Hadrian the legend is more definitely expressed: 'Veneranda nobis, Domine, huius est diei festivitas in qua sancta Dei genetrix mortem subiit temporalem nec tamen mortis nexibus deprimi potuit.' Its institution as a high solemnity was slowly introduced, as Martene shows (iii. p. 589).

The earliest suggestion of anything remarkable about the death of the Blessed Virgin is in the fourth century writer Epiphanius, 'Haer.' 78, § 11. He does not profess to know anything for certain, only he suggests that she may have remained immortal.

A festival connected with the date of Christmas as kept in the West, on the eighth day before the Kalends of January, is that of the birth of the Forerunner, St. John the Baptist, kept exactly six months before, on the eighth day before the Kalends of July, and therefore on 24 June. Its Western origin is shown (as Duchesne well remarks) by the fact that it is kept on the 24th, not on the 25th, of June. It is first mentioned in the sermons of St. Augustine [16] and it is therefore of much greater antiquity, in the West at any rate, than the festivals of the Blessed Virgin.

[16] 'Solos duos natales celebrat ecclesia, huius et Christi,' Aug. *Serm.* 287. The 6 months is from St. Luke i. 26.

St. Augustine speaks in a tone of reproof of a pagan custom, kept up by Christians on this festival, of bathing in the sea. We should naturally suppose that, as it was Midsummer Day, the custom had something to do with the worship of the Sun. A custom of lighting bonfires on the hills is also still in existence in some parts of France. I once heard it referred to on St. John's Day in a sermon at Aime in Savoy. It survived, I believe, in Cornwall till fifty years ago. The fact that St. John's Day was at the summer solstice and our Lord's Nativity at the winter solstice furnishes St. Augustine with a mystical comment on the Baptist's words, 'He must increase, but I must decrease' (St. John iii. 30): 'In nativitate Christi dies crescit, in Ioannis nativitate decrescit: natus est hodie Ioannes, ab hodierno die minuuntur dies; natus Christus viii. Kal. Ian., ab illo die crescunt dies' ('Serm.' 287). All this implies that the two festivals had been kept for some time and in some sort of connection. For reflection of this sort does not occur at once to the preacher, but only when a celebration has become a sort of second nature.

§ 4. *Festivals of the Cross.*

Holy Cross Day, which is marked in our Kalendars on 14 September and which was much observed in this country before the Reformation, as well as elsewhere, is a fourth century Palestinian festival, like the adoration of the Cross on Good Friday and the Presentation of our Lord. It is really the dedication festival of the two churches built by

Constantine at Jerusalem in 335, two years before his death—the Martyrium, to the East, and the Anastasis or Church of the Sepulchre, to the West of the holy site. It is remembered by Church historians as being the solemnity attended by the large concourse of Bishops who at the Council of Tyre had pronounced a sentence of deposition on St. Athanasius. The day chosen was not an accidental one, but was also believed at Jerusalem to be that of the discovery of the true cross by St. Helena. But it had an even more important if more general coincidence with the ancient Feast of Tabernacles and with the dedication of the first Temple by King Solomon at that season.[17] As this was a great season of merrymaking among the Jews, it became also a great festival in Palestine and in the Eastern Church generally. It was not, however, introduced into the West until the seventh century. Holy Cross Day is not recorded on 14 September in the earliest Roman Kalendar, which marks the day as the burial of St. Cyprian, nor in the Leonine Sacramentary, which adds to it the commemoration of his friend and contemporary Cornelius (xviii. Kal. Oct.). The later Sacramentaries have both, but put the 'Exaltation of the Holy Cross' first. The modern Roman Missal commemorates SS. Cornelius and Cyprian on 16 September; our Kalendar wrongly attaches the name of St. Cyprian to the 26th. In any reform of

[17] Lev. xxiii. 34 etc., 2 Chron. v. 3, vii. 8, 9, 10, and cp. Silvia 48 (ed. Geyer, p. 100): 'Et hoc per Scripturas sanctas invenitur, quod ea dies sit enceniarum qua et sanctus Salomon, consummata domo Dei quam aedificaverat, steterit ante altarium Dei et oraverit, sicut scriptum est in libris Paralipomenon.'

the Kalendar it is to be hoped that St. Cyprian may be commemorated on the right day, 14 September.

Another comparatively old festival in our Kalendars is that of the Invention of the Cross on 3 May. It appears in the so-called Gelasian Sacramentary on this day but not in the true Roman books,[18] and it may therefore be supposed to be a Gallican festival. We have seen that 14 September was the date given at Jerusalem as that of the finding of the cross, and it is therefore probable that 3 May comes from some other legendary source.

It is unknown in the East. Its retention in the table of our Anglican Kalendar is evidence that it was considered of some importance in this country.

In France it was the day for blessing crosses intended to be set up as protecting emblems in gardens, vineyards and fields: a natural and seemly custom at this season of the year, closely akin to that of the Rogationtide processions. Martene gives the form in use in his day (iii. p. 573), which prays that they may be defended from hail, whirlwinds, tempests and all attacks of the enemy.

§ 5. *Festivals of St. Michael and the Maccabees. St. Peter's Chains.*

Festivals of angels are almost as a matter of course connected with days on which certain churches dedi-

[18] Not in the Leonine and in the old manuscripts of the Gregorian or Sacramentary of Hadrian, but in the Gelasian, and therefore presumably a Gallican interpolation.

cated to them have been consecrated. It is possible that some of these may have been chosen on the ground of certain visions which occurred at particular spots, the two most famous being the apparitions of St. Michael on Mount Garganus in Apulia on 8 May and at Rome on 29 September. A similar day was kept at Constantinople on 8 November, which is still the feast of St. Michael in the East.[19] But on the other hand the visions are as likely to have occurred on the festival day chosen beforehand for another reason. The oldest Western festival is that which we keep as Michaelmas Day on 29 September, which appears in the earliest Roman Sacramentary as a local festival of the dedication (*natale*) of the basilica of the Angel in the Via Salaria—a church no longer existing, but originally six Roman miles from the city. It must have been a popular festival, as there are five forms of service set down for it.

The festival of the Maccabees, in honour of the heroic mother and her seven sons (2 Macc. vii.) who were tortured by Antiochus because they would not eat swine's flesh, and who were regarded as types of the courage of Christian martyrs, was kept very generally and perhaps universally in the Church from about the end of the fourth century. It was spoken

[19] Cp. Sozomen, ii. 3. The Μιχαήλιον, he says, built by Constantine, about four miles by sea from the city, was so called on account of the appearances of the Angel which were accustomed to take place there. It was evidently used, just as the temples of Aesculapius had been, for the purpose of sick men being placed in them to receive dreams as to remedies for their infirmities.

of with honour in sermons by the great preachers of the Church, St. Chrysostom, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Augustine, St. Leo, and Caesarius of Arles. The day kept was everywhere the same, 1 August.

As the only day mentioned in the book of Maccabees in connection with these persecutions is the feast of Bacchus (2 Macc. vi. 7), it is reasonable to suppose that the day chosen was one corresponding to such a heathen festival, and that the Christian celebration was intended to divert attention from it, as the fast on 1 January was intended to do. The Attic Dionysia do not correspond to such a date, but a vintage festival might easily be held on 1 August in a warmer climate than that of Attica. It would be naturally a local Palestinian or Syriac festival at first, and we find that a church of the Maccabees actually existed at Antioch, in which Chrysostom delivered his sermon on the festival (*εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους Μακκαβαίους*: ii. 622). Perhaps, indeed, the day may merely have been the day of the dedication of this church and therefore accidental.

The commemoration of the Maccabees still finds a place in the Roman Missal, but as secondary to the commemoration of St. Peter 'ad Vincula' and of the Apostle Paul. The memory of St. Peter's Chains has in fact driven out both the Maccabees and St. Paul from general recollection in the West, though the chains are a sort of accident and not the original cause even of the local Roman festival. That festival was merely the dedication day of the old Church of the

Apostles on the Esquiline hill, which according to legend was the first built by St. Peter in Europe ('P. L.' 78, p. 399). In this church, which was rebuilt by the imperial family of the Eastern empire in the time of Pope Xystus III. (A.D. 432–440), the chains of St. Peter, brought as relics from Jerusalem by some member of that family, were preserved and were solemnly exhibited and kissed by the faithful on the day of dedication of the church. Hence in later days the festival is simply called the festival of the Chains and the church was popularly known as that of St. Peter *a Vinculis* or *ad Vincula*. Nothing, however, is said about them in the sermon of St. Leo on the Maccabees, who mentions the dedication day of the church as part of the 'duplex causa laetitiae.' There is no reference to either festival or to any commemoration on 1 August in the Leonine Sacramentary. The Gelasian has only a service for the Maccabees. The Sacramentary of Hadrian, on the contrary, has only one for St. Peter, headed 'Ad Sanctum Petrum ad Vincula,' implying that the service was to be said in the church so called. Curiously enough, it has no reference at all to St. Paul, which must be a reform introduced into the modern Roman Missal. It would be worth while to inquire when and by whom.

A festival of St. Peter on 1 August may suggest a kind of intended parallel or even rivalry between him and the founder of the Roman empire, Augustus: a thought which is also brought to our minds by another of his festivals.

If our Kalendar should take note of the day it

should certainly be by referring to the more ancient and widespread memorial of the Jewish martyrs, and not to the local festival.

§ 6. *Festivals of Apostles.*

Festivals of the dedication of a church and of the translation of bodies or relics are often synonymous, and we have already seen that this is the case with that of St. Peter and St. Paul on 29 June, being the day on which their bodies were translated (A.D. 258) to the oratory *ad Catacumbas* (above, p. 404). There was, however, a festival of St. Peter entitled *Natale Petri de Cathedra*, kept in the eighth century on 22 February, and in some Kalendars etc. on 18 January, to commemorate the beginning of St. Peter's Apostolate. I cannot enter into a full discussion of the various theories about the origin of this festival, as to which two such good authorities as De Rossi and Duchesne do not agree.

De Rossi connects the festival of 18 January with the actual chair of St. Peter, of which he finds traces, which existed at a place called the 'Coemeterium Ostiarium' or 'ad Nymphas,' where St. Peter baptised, close to the Catacomb of St. Agnes. The festival of 22 February he connects with the chair actually existing in St. Peter's Church at Rome behind the tomb of the Apostle (see Kraus, 'R. E.' s.v. *Kathedra d. h. Petrus*, p. 157). Both he and Duchesne throw over any idea of Antioch, but Duchesne thinks the material 'chairs' were comparatively lately introduced into the celebration.

There can, I think, be little doubt that the earliest day for this festival was 22 February and that it was chosen in order to compete with the heathen festival of the 'Caristia' or 'cara cognatio' (cp. Ovid, 'Fasti,' ii. 617), a funeral feast when members of the different families met and when the Emperor Augustus's health was specially drunk. Perhaps there was, as I have hinted (p. 415), an intentional sort of rivalry between the two founders of Church and State—St. Peter and Augustus. Duchesne supposes that the celebration was afterwards transferred to January in order to avoid clashing with Lent, especially in Gaul, where such considerations had more weight than at Rome. The day chosen in January was one marked by a festival of the Virgin, 18 January. A further discrimination was then invented by which 18 January was made the anniversary of St. Peter's accession at Rome and 22 February ascribed to Antioch. As a matter of fact, the only day known at Rome for many centuries was the day in February, and with no reference either to Antioch or Rome, but with an idea of the commencement of St. Peter's special privileges on the day of his confession recorded in St. Matthew. This is the day marked in the Sacramentary of Hadrian and in the Rheinau and St. Gallen forms of the Gelasian. It also appears in the distich:

> Dat Clemens [23 Nov.] hiemem: dat Petrus ver cathedratus [22 Feb.]:
> Aestuat Urbanus [25 Mai.]: autumnat Bartholomaeus [24 Aug.]:

which makes it the beginning of the Spring season.

It was clearly difficult to distinguish the day from the heathen festival of the Caristia and from the Terminalia, a festival of the god of boundaries, which followed it on 23 February.

A canon of the Second Council of Tours (A.D. 567), no. 22, speaks of heathen rites practised on this festival both as regards the dead and as regards certain rocks (*petras*), trees or fountains—'designata loca gentilium'—evidently the boundaries of fields and townships. Indeed, in some places the 'Festum epularum S. Petri,' the 'banquet' of St. Peter, took the place of the 'Cathedra.'

Both days are still prescribed for observance in the Roman Missal, together with a commemoration of St. Paul: but not with much ceremony. The Gallican distinction—as Duchesne holds it to be—of placing the Roman Cathedra in January and the Antiochene in February is there specified, but the service appointed is the same. This was due, however, to Paul IV., who in 1558 altered the Roman day to January: Gregory XIII. then restored the day in February under the wrong, but traditional, title.

Other festivals of Apostles would seem to be those of the dedication of churches, such as that of St. Paul on 25 January, though the church with which it is connected is not known. That of St. Philip and St. James on 1 May is connected with the Church of the holy Apostles at Rome, rebuilt about A.D. 561, and that of St. John before the Latin Gate on 6 May, with the church dedicated in the

time of Pope Hadrian in the eighth century. The latter day may perhaps have been chosen in connection with a Greek festival on 8 May commemorating a miracle worked on the tomb of St. John.

The festival of St. Andrew (30 November), which is at least as old as the fourth century, is perhaps the only festival of an Apostle claiming to be really on the anniversary of his death. It is mentioned in the apocryphal Acts describing his matyrdom at Patras.

The other festivals of Apostles differ so much in the East and West that, though at present we have no explanation of the dates to offer, we may consider them days of dedication of churches or of translation of relics rather than actually traditional days of their martyrdom. Where such days were known they would be used for the purpose of burial or translation of relics, when it was convenient or possible; but we have no right to assume that this was done in any particular case. Churches were dedicated when it was possible to collect a goodly number of Bishops for the purpose—as that was made a point of in the old rite; and their coming together would depend upon other considerations.

§ 7. *Festivals of Martyrs, Confessors, Bishops etc.*

There were, of course, at first local celebrations in the places where the heroes of the faith had died and been buried. The earliest notice of such a commemoration is in the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna after the death of St. Polycarp, which occurred

in A.D. 155 or 156. Such a local celebration happened to be taking place when St. Cyprian was martyred, in A.D. 258. He himself had given orders that the death days of those killed in persecution should be carefully noted in order that their anniversaries might be observed, 'Ep.' 12: 'Denique et dies eorum quibus excedunt annotate ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus... Et celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum.' This passage shows, not only that the memory of the martyrs would be observed in the chapels where they were buried, but at the central church of the Diocese. Wherever this became powerful it would naturally extend its Kalendar of commemorations into other Dioceses, and it is in this manner that local Roman Saints, like St. Clement, Xystus II. and his deacon Laurence (who suffered in the persecution of Valerian), Caecilia (22 November) and Fabian, passed into the general Kalendar of the Church. Thus there is much more probability that the days of martyrs may be personal anniversaries than those of Apostles or of the greater festivals of our Blessed Lord.

The festival of All Saints celebrates the dedication of the Roman Pantheon as a Christian church by Boniface IV. (A.D. 608–614). It was first observed on 13 May; but by the time of Bede it seems to have been transferred to 1 November. The Roman Kalendar as a whole was adopted in England by the Council of Cloveshoo (A.D. 747), c. 13. But a certain local freedom still remained. The year 1161, when Edward the Confessor was canonised, marks the

transition to complete subservience to Papal rule. Before that the Church had added at pleasure days of its own Saints.

§ 8. *Future Reform of the Kalendar.*

Three or four considerations should guide us in the reform of our own Kalendar, which is one of the tasks that we or our successors ought to keep in view.[20]

The first of these is: the desire to bring out any prominent points in the mystery of Redemption that may have been omitted.

The second is: to introduce or re-introduce commemorations which may emphasise and foster the sentiment of true Catholicity.

The third is: to add what may be necessary to keep in memory the blessings of our own branch of the Church.

The fourth is: to omit commemorations which are of little or no importance or necessity, so as to make what remain of greater interest and to insure that they should be taken seriously. It is obvious, however, that such a proceeding must be very cautious, since

[20] There is an interesting paper by the late Bp. Westcott on 'The Communion of Saints,' read at the Leicester Church Congress of 1880, and reprinted in *The Historic Faith*, note ix., 1883. It led to the institution of a Commemoration of Benefactors in Peterborough Cathedral in 1881. A similar commemoration was introduced at Salisbury in 1887, and at Newcastle in 1902. I have tried also to make it parochial.

events in history are often dated by unimportant Saints' Days. A familiar instance is the Battle of Agincourt on St. Crispin's Day, 25 October.

As regards days connected with the mystery of Redemption we may well desire a definite observance of our Lord's Transfiguration. In the West it was remembered in the Gospel for the Lent Ember Saturday (see St. Leo, 'Serm.' 51, 'P.L.' 54, 308 and Thomasii 'Op.' v. 447–8). The Greek day, 6 August, was probably brought over by crusaders (see the service on Mt. Tabor described by John of Würzburg, 'P.L.' 155, 1089 c. 1165). No general observance, however, was prescribed till 1457. The American Church, in 1886, assigned proper lessons and a Collect, Epistle and Gospel to 6 August. I have sometimes used a version of another Latin Collect.[21] If we were free to choose a day, a Sunday after Epiphany would be the most natural.

As regards the second consideration, the need to foster the sentiment of true Catholicity: what I mean by this is that we ought to have days when we recollect and pray for the needs of particular Churches both in the East and the West, and should choose for

[21] '*Collect for the Transfiguration of our Lord.* O God, who didst call the Saints of the old Covenant to bear witness to Thy Son's Transfiguration, and by a voice from the cloud of light didst bid us hearken unto Him: grant that, as we have found Him in deed the only perfect Teacher of the Truth, so we may one day behold Him face to face in glory: who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen.*'

these the days when special Saints connected with and representing those Churches are elsewhere commemorated. We should not merely have England represented by St. Alban, St. Augustine, Bede, Chad, Hugh, Richard etc., and Wales by St. David, and Scotland perhaps by St. Andrew, but we should certainly introduce St. Patrick's Day (17 March) and possibly St. Bridget's into our Kalendar, and add St. Ninian, St. Columba and St. Margaret as more personal representatives of Scotland.

St. Denys (9 October) and St. Martin (11 November) sufficiently represent France, and St. Boniface (5 June) Germany; and Italy and Africa have several commemorations; but Scandinavia is strangely enough omitted, and I do not think we have a single point of contact with the great Russian empire.

We have also no commemorations at present of the great Greek Fathers—a remarkable oversight—and nothing to recall the existence of the Syrian, Armenian, Coptic and Abyssinian Churches, much less those of Persia, India, China, Japan and America. For the old Churches it would be easy to name: St. Athanasius for Alexandria, St. Ignatius for West Syria, St. Ephrem Syrus for Edessa, St. Gregory the Illuminator for Armenia, St. Chrysostom for Antioch and Constantinople, St. Basil for Cappadocia, and St. Polycarp for Western Asia Minor. Other names would be more difficult, but it would not by any means be impossible to find one at least, or it may be two, a man and a woman, for each of the chief regions of the world. If the Kalendar were thus

enriched it would need a little commentary which would naturally be in the form both of a shortened biography and a summary of the characteristics of the Church represented, and of the points in regard to it for which prayers may be suggested.

The third consideration—viz. to add what may be necessary to keep alive the blessings and good examples of our own branch of the Church—is by no means easy in a general Kalendar. We all know the fate which overtook the attempt made in this direction in the form of State Services for 30 January, 29 May, and 5 November, not to speak of the previous disputes over 'St. Thomas of Canterbury.' Yet it is no doubt a cause of weakness that we are not sufficiently united to thank God for the great examples with which He has glorified our Church as really as any other. Probably the best thing that can be done is for each Diocese to have its roll of Saints, Worthies and Benefactors which might be partially adopted, with other special commemorations, in each parish; but there are surely some days, like the death-days of King Alfred and Queen Victoria, which ought to appear, with general consent, in a national Kalendar.

The following Kalendar, which I have drawn up with the valuable assistance of my brother, is a private attempt to commemorate a greater variety of (1) foreign, (2) national and provincial names, and (3) to give a selection of those whom we specially remember in our own Diocese. In this attempt we have tried

to be inclusive rather than exclusive, and to name those who are connected with great epochs in history, without attempting to determine their degree of saintship. We have also tried to give the actual 'natales,' the birthdays into eternity, not those of burial or re-burial and translation. Some exceptions no doubt exist, besides the obvious ones of St. Peter and St. Paul (29 June), St. Osmund (16 July) and St. Remigius (1 October).

I have, with regret, omitted all commemorations of Old Testament Saints, notwithstanding their presence in the Greek Kalendar. The choice of days there made seems quite arbitrary, and therefore out of line with the principles on which this Kalendar is founded.

I trust that this list of names may be found useful, as indicating the directions to which attention should be turned. It does not claim to be, in any degree, authoritative. If it enables our own fellow-members of the Church to realise a little more fully the breadth of the Communion of Saints as to time and place and character, it will fulfil my desires.[22] A more authoritative list of commemorations, for Diocesan use, may be possible at some later stage of our history, under the direction of the Cathedral Chapter, working together with myself or one of my successors.

[22] In revising this list (1902) I have found a paper by Dr. Sanday, *Minor Holy Days of the Church of England*, to give a useful summary of the authorities for our Kalendar and an effective analysis of its contents.

JANUARY

An asterisk refers to a note at the end of the Kalendar, p. 438.

1	A	Kalendae	Circumcision of our Lord. Basil, Bp. of Caesarea, 379.
2	b	4 Non.	
3	c	3 Non.	
4	d	Prid. Non.	S. Titus, disciple of S. Paul.
5	e	Nonae	Edward, K. and C., 1066.
6	f	8 Id.	Epiphanies of our Lord. Commemoration of the visit of the Magi, of His Baptism, and first miracle and the feeding of the five thousand.
7	g	7 Id.	
8	A	6 Id.	Wulsin, Bp. of Sherborne, 983.
9	b	5 Id.	
10	c	4 Id.	Paul, the Hermit in the Thebaid, 341. Gregory of Nyssa, Bp. 395–6. William Laud, Abp., 1645.
11	d	3 Id.	
12	e	Prid. Id.	Benedict Biscop, Founder of Wearmouth and Jarrow, 703.
13	f	Idus	Hilary, Bp. of Poictiers, 368.
14	g	19 Kl. Feb.	
15	A	18 Kal.	
16	b	17 Kal.	
17	c	16 Kal.	Antony, Abbat in Egypt, 356.
18	d	15 Kal.	
19	e	14 Kal.	
20	f	13 Kal.	Fabian, Bp. of Rome, 250. Sebastian, M. at Rome, 303.
21	g	12 Kal.	Agnes, Roman V. M., 303.
22	A	11 Kal.	Vincent, Spanish Deacon, M. at Saragossa, 304. Victoria, Q., 1901.
23	b	10 Kal.	
24	c	9 Kal.	S. Timothy, disciple of S. Paul.
25	d	8 Kal.	Conversion of S. Paul. Gregory of Nazianzus, 389–391.
26	e	7 Kal.	Charles George Gordon, at Khartum, 1885.
27	f	6 Kal.	
28	g	5 Kal.	Ephrem Syrus, Deacon at Edessa, 373. Charles the Great, Emperor, 814.
29	A	4 Kal.	
30	b	3 Kal.	Charles the First, K., 1649.
31	c	Prid. Kal.	

FEBRUARY

1	d	Kalendae	Ignatius, Bp. of Syria, M., *c.* 109.
2	e	4 Non.	Presentation of Christ in the Temple. Bridget, Abbess of Kildare, V. 525. Laurence, Abp., 619.
3	f	3 Non.	Anschar, Bp. of Hamburg, 864.
4	g	Prid. Non.	Gilbert of Sempringham, Abb., 1189.
5	A	Nonae	Agatha, V. M. at Catania, 251.
6	b	8 Id.	Ina, K. of Wessex, C., 728.
7	c	7 Id.	Romuald, Abb., Founder of Camaldoli, 1027.
8	d	6 Id.	
9	e	5 Id.	Teilo, Bp. of Llandaff, 651 (?) John Hooper, Bp., 1555.
10	f	4 Id.	
11	g	3 Id.	Caedmon, Monk and Poet, 680 (?)
12	A	Prid. Id.	
13	b	Idus	
14	c	16 Kl. Mar.	Cyril (Constantine), Apostle of the Slaves, 869.
15	d	15 Kal.	Sigfrid of York, Bp., Ap. of Sweden, 1045. Thomas Bray, one of the founders of S.P.C.K. and S.P.G., 1730.
16	e	14 Kal.	Onesimus, Bp. of Colossae.
17	f	13 Kal.	
18	g	12 Kal.	Simeon, second Bp. of Jerusalem.
19	A	11 Kal.	
20	b	10 Kal.	Mildred, V. Abbess of Thanet (7th cent.).
21	c	9 Kal.	
22	d	8 Kal.	S. Peter's Chair (see p. 417).
23	e	7 Kal.	Polycarp, Bp. of Smyrna, M., 155–6. Edict of Diocletian, 303.
24	f	6 Kal.	S. Matthias, Ap. M. George Herbert, Poet, Parson of Bemerton, 1633.
25	g	5 Kal.	
26	A	4 Kal.	
27	b	3 Kal.	
28	c	Prid. Kal.	
29	...	.....	Oswald, Bp. of Worcester, Abp. of York, 992.

MARCH

1	d	Kalendae	David, Bp. of Menevia, 544.
2	e	6 Non.	Chad, Bp. of Lichfield, 672.
3	f	5 Non.	
4	g	4 Non.	Bernard Gilpin, Parson of Houghton-le-Spring, 1583.
5	A	3 Non.	Piran or Kieran, Abb. in Cornwall, *c.* 540.
6	b	Prid. Non.	Chrodegang, Bp. of Metz, 766.
7	c	Nonae	Perpetua and Felicitas, Mauritanian MM., 203. Thomas Aquinas, 1274. Thomas Wilson, Bp. of Man, 1755.
8	d	8 Id.	
9	e	7 Id.	The Forty Martyrs at Sebaste in Armenia.
10	f	6 Id.	
11	g	5 Id.	
12	A	4 Id.	Gregory, Bp. of Rome, C., 604.
13	b	3 Id.	
14	c	Prid. Id.	
15	d	Idus	
16	e	17 Kl. Apr.	
17	f	16 Kal.	Patrick, Apostle of Ireland (465?). Gilbert Burnet, Bp. of Sarum, 1715.
18	g	15 Kal.	Cyril, Bp. of Jerusalem, 389. Edward, K. of West Saxons, 978.
19	A	14 Kal.	Thomas Ken, Bp., 1711.
20	b	13 Kal.	Fabian, Bp. of Rome, M., 250. Cuthbert, Bp. of Lindisfarne, C., 687.
21	c	12 Kal.	Agnes, V. M. at Rome. Thomas Cranmer, Abp., 1556.
22	d	11 Kal.	Vincent, D. and M. at Saragossa, 304.
23	e	10 Kal.	Gregory the Illuminator, Apostle of Armenia, 332.
24	f	9 Kal.	
25	g	8 Kal.	The Annunciation. The Passion of our Lord. Benedict, Abbat, 542.*
26	A	7 Kal.	S. Gabriel. Dedication of the completed Church of Salisbury, 1260.
27	b	6 Kal.	The Resurrection of our Lord.
28	c	5 Kal.	
29	d	4 Kal.	John Keble, poet and divine, 1866.
30	e	3 Kal.	
31	f	Prid. Kal.	

APRIL

1	g	Kalendae	Melito, Bp. of Sardis. Reginald Heber, Bp. of Calcutta, 1826.
2	A	4 Non.	
3	b	3 Non.	Richard, Bp. of Chichester, 1253.
4	c	Prid. Non.	Ambrose, Bp. of Milan and Doctor, 397 (on Easter Eve).
5	d	Nonae	Dedication of Old Sarum Cathedral by S. Osmund, 1092. Vincent Ferrier, Mission Preacher, at Vannes, 1419.
6	e	8 Id.	
7	f	7 Id.	
8	g	6 Id.	
9	A	5 Id.	
10	b	4 Id.	
11	c	3 Id.	Leo the Great, Bp. of Rome, 461.*
12	d	Prid. Id.	Jacques-Benigne Bossuet, Bp. of Meaux, 1704.
13	e	Idus	
14	f	18 Kl. Mai.	
15	g	17 Kal.	Richard Poore, Bp., Founder of the Church and City of New Sarum, 1237.
16	A	16 Kal.	
17	b	15 Kal.	Stephen Harding of Sherborne, Abb. of Citeaux, 1134.
18	c	14 Kal.	
19	d	13 Kal.	Alphege, Abp., 1012.
20	e	12 Kal.	John Davenant, Bp. of Salisbury, 1641.
21	f	11 Kal.	Anselm, Abp., 1109.
22	g	10 Kal.	
23	A	9 Kal.	George, M., 303 (?). Adalbert, Apostle of Prussia, M., 997.
24	b	8 Kal.	
25	c	7 Kal.	S. Mark, Ev. M.
26	d	6 Kal.	
27	e	5 Kal.	
28	f	4 Kal.	Vitalis, M. at Ravenna. Foundation of Salisbury Cathedral, 1220.
29	g	3 Kal.	
30	A	Prid. Kal.	Catharine of Sienna, 1380.

MAY

1	b	Kalendae	Beginning of our Lord's preaching (acc. to the Latins). SS. Philip and James, App. MM.
2	c	6 Non.	Athanasius, Bp. of Alexandria, 373.
3	d	5 Non.	
4	e	4 Non.	
5	f	3 Non.	
6	g	Prid. Non.	S. John Ev. at the Latin Gate. John Damascene, *c.* 770.
7	A	Nonae	
8	b	8 Id.	
9	c	7 Id.	
10	d	6 Id.	
11	e	5 Id.	Methodius, Apostle of the Slaves, 885.
12	f	4 Id.	Pancras, Phrygian boy M. at Rome, 304.
13	g	3 Id.	
14	A	Prid. Id.	
15	b	Idus	Pachomius, Abb. in the Thebaid, 349.
16	c	17 Kl. Jun.	
17	d	16 Kal.	
18	e	15 Kal.	Elfgiva, Queen, at Shaftesbury, 971.
19	f	14 Kal.	Alcuin of York, Pr., 804. Dunstan, Abp., 968.
20	g	13 Kal.	
21	A	12 Kal.	Constantine, Emperor, 337. Henry VI., K., 1471.
22	b	11 Kal.	
23	c	10 Kal.	
24	d	9 Kal.	Vincent of Lerins, Pr., 445.
25	e	8 Kal.	Aldhelm, first Bp. of Sherborne, 709.
26	f	7 Kal.	Augustine, first Abp. of Canterbury, 605.*
27	g	6 Kal.	Ven. Bede, Pr., historian, 735.*
28	A	5 Kal.	Germanus, Bp. of Paris, C., 576.
29	b	4 Kal.	Constantinople taken by the Turks, 1453. Restoration of Church and King, 1660.
30	c	3 Kal.	
31	d	Prid. Kal.	

JUNE

1	e	Kalendae	Justin, Apol. and M., *c.* 165.* Pothinus, Bp. of Lyons, *c.* 177.
2	f	4 Non.	Forty Martyrs of Lyons.
3	g	3 Non.	
4	A	Prid. Non.	Petroc, Bp. of Cornwall, 564.
5	b	Nonae	Boniface, Apostle of Germany, Bp. of Mainz, M. in Frisia, 755.
6	c	8 Id.	
7	d	7 Id.	
8	e	6 Id.	
9	f	5 Id.	Columba, Abb. of Iona, 597.
10	g	4 Id.	(See November 16.)
11	A	3 Id.	S. Barnabas, Ap. and M.
12	b	Prid. Id.	
13	c	Idus	
14	d	18 Kl. Julii	Aldate or Eldad, at Amesbury, *c.* 490 (?)
15	e	17 Kal.	
16	f	16 Kal.	Joseph Butler, Bp. of Durham, 1752.
17	g	15 Kal.	
18	A	14 Kal.	
19	b	13 Kal.	
20	c	12 Kal.	
21	d	11 Kal.	
22	e	10 Kal.	Alban, soldier, first M. in Britain, 303.* John Fisher, Bp., 1535.
23	f	9 Kal.	Etheldreda, Queen, Abbess of Ely, 679.
24	g	8 Kal.	Nativity of S. John Baptist.
25	A	7 Kal.	
26	b	6 Kal.	
27	c	5 Kal.	
28	d	4 Kal.	Irenaeus, Bp. of Lyons, *c.* 202.*
29	e	3 Kal.	SS. Peter and Paul, Apostles and MM.* Wm. Ayscough, Bp. of Salisbury, 1450.
30	f	Prid. Kal.	Raymund Lull, Missionary to Moslems, 1315.

JULY

1	g	Kalendae	Rumbold, Bp. at Mechlin (*c.* 755 ?).
2	A	6 Non.	Swithun, Bp. of Winchester, 862.
3	b	5 Non.	Germain, first Bp. of Man at Peel.
4	c	4 Non.	
5	d	3 Non.	Sir Thomas More, 1535.
6	e	Prid. Non.	George Moberly, Bp. of Salisbury, 1885.
7	f	Nonae	Hedda, Bp. of Wessex, 705.
8	g	8 Id.	
9	A	7 Id.	
10	b	6 Id.	
11	c	5 Id.	
12	d	4 Id.	
13	e	3 Id.	
14	f	Prid. Id.	
15	g	Idus	The Temple burnt by Titus, 70. Vladimir, Russian Duke, 1015. Jerusalem taken by Godfrey of Bouillon, 1099.
16	A	17 Kl. Aug.	Tr. of S. Osmund, 1457 (see 3 Dec.). John Pearson, Bp. of Chester, 1686.
17	b	16 Kal.	
18	c	15 Kal.	
19	d	14 Kal.	Vincent of Paul, C. at Paris, 1660.
20	e	13 Kal.	Margaret, V. M. at Antioch in Pisidia.
21	f	12 Kal.	
22	g	11 Kal.	Mary Magdalene.
23	A	10 Kal.	
24	b	9 Kal.	
25	c	8 Kal.	S. James, Ap. M. Christopher, M., 254.
26	d	7 Kal.	Anne, Mother of B. V. M.
27	e	6 Kal.	
28	f	5 Kal.	
29	g	4 Kal.	Olaf Haraldson, K., 1030. William Wilberforce, 1833.
30	A	3 Kal.	Abdon and Sennen, Persian Martyrs, 252.
31	b	Prid. Kal.	Germanus, Bp. of Auxerre, 448.

AUGUST

1	c	Kalendae	The Seven Maccabees. St. Peter's Chains. Walter Kerr Hamilton, Bp. of Salisbury, 1869.
2	d	4 Non.	
3	e	3 Non.	
4	f	Prid. Non.	Dominic, founder of the Order of Preachers, 1221. Simon de Montfort, E. of Leicester, 1265.
5	g	Nonae	Oswald, King and Martyr, 642.
6	A	8 Id.	The Transfiguration of our Lord.
7	b	7 Id.	
8	c	6 Id.	
9	d	5 Id.	
10	e	4 Id.	Laurence, Deacon of Rome, 258.
11	f	3 Id.	
12	g	Prid. Id.	
13	A	Idus	
14	b	19 Kl. Sept.	
15	c	18 Kal.	The falling asleep of the B. V. M.
16	d	17 Kal.	
17	e	16 Kal.	
18	f	15 Kal.	
19	g	14 Kal.	
20	A	13 Kal.	Bernard of Clairvaux, Abb., 1153.
21	b	12 Kal.	
22	c	11 Kal.	Hippolytus, Bp. (235?).
23	d	10 Kal.	
24	e	9 Kal.	S. Bartholomew, Ap. M. Ela, Countess of Salisbury, foundress of Laycock Abbey, 1261.
25	f	8 Kal.	Louis, K.C., at Paris, 1270.
26	g	7 Kal.	
27	A	6 Kal.	
28	b	5 Kal.	Augustine, Bp. of Hippo in Africa, C. Doctor, 430.
29	c	4 Kal.	Beheading of S. John Baptist.
30	d	3 Kal.	
31	e	Prid. Kal.	Aidan, Bp. of Lindisfarne, 651. Cuthburga, Q., Foundress and Abbess of Wimborne, 725 (?).

SEPTEMBER

1	f	Kalendae	Beginning of the Indiction and the Greek ecclesiastical year. Giles, Abb. C. in Provence, *circa* 712.
2	g	4 Non.	
3	A	3 Non.	
4	b	Prid. Non.	
5	c	Nonae	
6	d	8 Id.	S. Bega or Bee, Abbess, *c.* 690.
7	e	7 Id.	
8	f	6 Id.	Nativity of B. V. M.
9	g	5 Id.	
10	A	4 Id.	
11	b	3 Id.	
12	c	Prid. Id.	
13	d	Idus	
14	e	18 Kl. Oct.	Cyprian, Bp. of Carthage, M., 258.* Comm. of Cornelius, Bp. of Rome, 252. John Chrysostom. Abp. of C.P., 407. Dante, Poet, 1321.
15	f	17 Kal.	
16	g	16 Kal.	Ninian, Bp. in Galloway (5th cent.). Edith, Abbess of Wilton, 984.
17	A	15 Kal.	Lambert, Bp. of Maestricht, M. at Liège,
18	b	14 Kal.	*c.* 708.
19	c	13 Kal.	Theodore of Tarsus, Abp. of Cant., 690.
20	d	12 Kal.	John Coleridge Patteson, first Bp. of Melanesia, 1871.
21	e	11 Kal.	S. Matthew, Ap. Ev.
22	f	10 Kal.	
23	g	9 Kal.	John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, 1571.
24	A	8 Kal.	
25	b	7 Kal.	Sergius, Abb. of the Troitzka, 1392.
26	c	6 Kal.	
27	d	5 Kal.	Cosmas and Damian, brother physicians, MM., 297. William of Wykeham, Bp. of Winchester, 1404. Lancelot Andrews, Bp., 1626.
28	e	4 Kal.	Wenceslas, K. of Bohemia, 936
29	f	3 Kal.	S. Michael and All Angels.
30	g	Prid. Kal.	Jerome, Pr. and Doctor, 419. Dedication Feast of Salisbury Cathedral Church, 1258.

OCTOBER

1	A	Kalendae	Tr. of Remigius, Bp. of Rheims, *c.* 532.*
2	b	6 Non.	Leger, Bp. of Autun, 678.
3	c	5 Non.	
4	d	4 Non.	Francis of Assisi, Founder of the Friars Minors. 1226.
5	e	3 Non.	Raphael, Archangel.
6	f	Prid. Non.	Faith, V. M. at Agen in Aquitaine, *c.* 287. Bruno, Founder of the Carthusians, 1101.
7	g	Nonae	
8	A	8 Id.	
9	b	7 Id.	Denis, Bp. M. at Paris, *c.* 286.
10	c	6 Id.	Paulinus, Bp. of York, 644. Robert Gross teste, Bp. of Lincoln, 1253.
11	d	5 Id.	Philip the Deacon. Edward White Benson, Abp., 1896.
12	e	4 Id.	
13	f	3 Id.	
14	g	Prid. Id.	
15	A	Idus	
16	b	17 Kl. Nov.	Gall, Abb., *c.* 646. Hugh Latimer, Bp., and Nicholas Ridley, Bp., 1555. Henry Martyn, Missionary, 1812.
17	c	16 Kal.	
18	d	15 Kal.	S. Luke, Ev.
19	e	14 Kal.	
20	f	13 Kal.	
21	g	12 Kal.	Hilarion, Hermit in Cyprus, 371.
22	A	11 Kal.	
23	b	10 Kal.	
24	c	9 Kal.	
25	d	8 Kal.	Crispin and Crispinian, MM. at Soissons, *c.* 285.
26	e	7 Kal.	Alfred, King, prob. 900, aged 52.*
27	f	6 Kal.	
28	g	5 Kal.	SS. Simon and Jude, App. MM.
29	A	4 Kal.	
30	b	3 Kal.	
31	c	Prid. Kal.	

NOVEMBER

1	d	Kalendae	All Saints' Day.
2	e	4 Non.	All Souls' Day. Richard Hooker, 1600.
3	f	3 Non.	
4	g	Prid. Non.	Perpetua, wife of S. Peter, M. Charles Borromeo, Abp. of Milan, 1584.
5	A	Nonae	SS. Zacharias and Elizabeth.
6	b	8 Id.	Leonard, C., disciple of Remigius, 559.
7	c	7 Id.	Willibrord, missionary to Frisia, 739.
8	d	6 Id.	
9	e	5 Id.	
10	f	4 Id.	
11	g	3 Id.	Martin, Bp. of Tours, C., 397–400.
12	A	Prid. Id.	
13	b	Idus	
14	c	18 Kl. Dec.	
15	d	17 Kal.	
16	e	16 Kal.	Aelfric, Bp. of Ramsbury and Abp. of Cant., 1006. Margaret, Q. of Scotland, 1093.* Edmund Rich, Abp., 1240.
17	f	15 Kal.	Hilda, Abbess, 680. Hugh, Bp. of Lincoln, C., 1200.
18	g	14 Kal.	
19	A	13 Kal.	Elizabeth of Hungary, 1231.
20	b	12 Kal.	Edmund, King of East Anglia, 870.
21	c	11 Kal.	Columban of Leinster, Abb. of Bobbio, 615.
22	d	10 Kal.	Cecilia, V. M.
23	e	9 Kal.	Clement, Bp. of Rome, M., 100.
24	f	8 Kal.	
25	g	7 Kal.	Catharine, V. M.
26	A	6 Kal.	
27	b	5 Kal.	
28	c	4 Kal.	
29	d	3 Kal.	
30	e	Prid. Kal.	S. Andrew, Ap. M. at Patras. Frumentius, Bp., Apostle of Abyssinia (*circa* 353). Francis Xavier, Missionary, 1552.

DECEMBER

1	f	Kalendae	
2	g	4 Non.	
3	A	3 Non.	Birinus, Bp. of the West Saxons, 650.
4	b	Prid. Non.	Clement of Alexandria, 217. Barbara, V. M. Osmund, Bp. of Sarum, 1099.
5	c	Nonae	
6	d	8 Id.	Nicholas, Bp. of Myra (4th cent.).
7	e	7 Id.	
8	f	6 Id.	
9	g	5 Id.	
10	A	4 Id.	
11	b	3 Id.	
12	c	Prid. Id.	
13	d	Idus	Lucy, V. M., at Syracuse, 303.
14	e	19 Kl. Jan.	Spyridion, Bp. in Cyprus, 350.
15	f	18 Kal.	
16	g	17 Kal.	
17	A	16 Kal.	
18	b	15 Kal.	
19	c	14 Kal.	
20	d	13 Kal.	
21	e	12 Kal.	S. Thomas, Ap.
22	f	11 Kal.	
23	g	10 Kal.	Thorlac, Bp. of Skálholt in Iceland, 1193.
24	A	9 Kal	
25	b	8 Kal.	Christmas Day.
26	c	7 Kal.	S. Stephen, the first martyr.
27	d	6 Kal.	S. John, Ap. Ev.
28	e	5 Kal.	Innocents' Day.
29	f	4 Kal.	Thomas Becket, Abp. of Canterbury, 1170.
30	g	3 Kal.	
31	A	Pr. Kl. Jan.	Silvester, Bp. of Rome, 335.

NOTES TO KALENDAR

25 March. *Benedict Abbat.* In the English P. B. Kalendar this day is transferred to the 21st., probably to avoid the Annunciation.

11 April. *Leo the Great.* The day of his death is unknown. It was apparently in November.

26 May. *Augustine.* See his epitaph in Bede, *H.E.* ii. 3.

27 May. *Bede.* This is the day in English P. B. Kalendar; but it should be also 26th (septimo Kalendas Junias): see Cuthbert's letter to Cuthwin, *P.L.* 90, p. 64. It was Ascension Day, which fixes the year to 735.

1 June. *Justin Martyr.* The day is uncertain, but it appears to have been in this month. Otto conjectures that it was on the 12th.

22 June. *Alban.* In the English P. B. Kalendar on the 17th; probably an error.

28 June. *Irenaeus.* The day is quite uncertain.

29 June. *SS. Peter and Paul.* This is not the day of their deaths, which were very possibly quite distinct from one another in time. It is the day of the translation of their bodies to the church *Ad Catacumbas* in A.D. 258. See above, pp. 404, 416.

14 September. *Cyprian.* The day is wrongly given in English P. B. Kalendar as the 26th. For other associations with this day (Holy Cross Day), see above, pp. 410–411.

1 October. *Remigius*, who baptised Clovis K. of the Franks in 496. This is the day of his 'translation' in 1049. The day of his death is variously given as 13 or 23 January.

26 October. *Alfred.* See the Saxon Chronicle s.a. 901, which puts his death 'sex noctibus ante festum omnium sanctorum' or a.d. vii. Kal. Nov. The chronicle is in this part probably a year in advance of the true date: see Charles Plummer, *Alfred the Great*, p. 197. Oxf. 1902.

16 November. *Margaret Q. of Scotland.* Malcolm Ceanmore was killed on S. Brice's Day, 13 Nov., and Margaret died three days later. Her translation (1251) was first observed on 19 June. It was afterwards changed to 10 June, as in the Martyrology of Gregory XIII. (Venice 1606) and elsewhere. The reason was unknown to the writers of the *Acta Sanctorum*: see *A. S. Junius*, ii. pp. 320, 339.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF A FEW OF THE BOOKS ILLUSTRATING THE 'INTRODUCTION' AND THE SUBJECT OF THIS BOOK GENERALLY.

General. Church Orders &c.

Edm. Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus.* First published in 4 vols. 4to in 1700 onwards; also 4 vols. fol. (best edition), Antwerp, 1736–8.

[Contains extracts from liturgical books illustrating each section of the text.]

L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien : étude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne.* Paris, 1889, ed. 2, 1898; ed. 3, 1902.

[Contains extracts from *Silvia* and various *Ordines* as an Appendix, also, in ed. 3, the Canons of Hippolytus.]

Pierre Batiffol, *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain.* new ed. Paris, 1895.

Études d'histoire et de théologie positive (L'Arcane, La Pénitence, La Hiérarchie primitive, L'Agape). Paris, 1902.

[The longest and most important of these essays is that on Penitence.]

Frederick Henry Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church.* Cambridge Texts and Studies, 1891.

Eduard Freiherr von der Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit.* Leipzig, 1901.

For Dr. Hatch's books see above, p. 3, n. 2.

Joseph Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church.* ed. 1. 10 vols. 8vo, 1708–1722; 2 vols. fol. 1726; new ed. 9 vols. 8vo., Lond. 1829; 2 vols. large 8vo, Bohn, Lond. 1850.

Wm. Smith and Samuel Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.* 2 vols. London, 1875 and 1880.

F. X. Kraus, *Real-Encyklopädie der Christlichen Alterthümer.* 2 vols. large 8vo, Freiburg i. Br. 1882.

Job Ludolf, *Commentarius ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam.* Francofurti ad Moenum. fol. 1691.

J. B. Cotelier, *Patres Apostolici.* ed. Joh. Clericus, 2 vols. fol. 1672 and later.

[Contains the *Apostolic Const.* and *Apost. Canons*, and the *Clementine Recognitions* and *Homilies* etc., with notes.]

H. Tattam, *The Apostolic Constitutions or Canons of the Apostles in Coptic with E. T.* Lond. 1848.

C. C. J. Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. vi. = *Analecta ante-Nicaena*, vol. ii. Lond. 1854.

[Contains *Ap. Canons*, ed. Bunsen; *Ap. Const.* (separating the *Didascalia*) and *Constit. Eccl. Aegyptiacae*, ed. Paulus Boetticher (afterwards de Lagarde).]

A. P. de Lagarde, *Reliquiae Iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimae*, Lips. 1856.

———*Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Lips. and Lond. 1862.

Philotheos Bryennios, Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων. Constantinople, 1883.

Adolf Harnack, *Die Lehre der Zwölf Apostel, nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts.* 'T. und U.' ii. 1, 2. Leipzig, 1884.

[This also contains an edition of the *Apostolic Church Order* and of the parallel passages of the *Ap. Const.*]

Paul Sabatier, *La Didaché.* ed. 2, Paris, 1885.

Roswell D. Hitchcock and Francis Brown, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, revised and enlarged ed. Lond. 1885.

C. Taylor, *Teaching of the XII Apostles, two Lectures.* Camb. 1886.

———*Essay on the Theology of the Didaché, with Greek text.* Camb. 1889.

Charles Bigg, *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles.* S. P. C. K. Lond. 1898.

L. E. Iselin, *Eine bisher unbekannte Version des ersten Theiles der 'Apostellehre.'* 'T. und U.' xiii. 1, Leipz. 1895.

[A short recension of the *Two Ways* from an Arabic version of the life of an Egyptian Saint Schnudi who died A.D. 451.]

Joseph Schlecht, *Doctrina XII Apostolorum: una cum versione Latina prioris partis 'de duabus viis,' primum edidit,* Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1900.

[This is the complete Latin version of the *Two Ways* from a Frising MS. now at Munich. Von Gebhardt discovered a portion of the same text (I. i.–ii. 6) which is printed by Harnack in his edition, p. 277 foll. The texts published by Iselin and Schlecht prove (1) the independence of the *Two Ways* as a tract; (2) its antiquity. The Latin version ends with a further exhortation to obedience and a doxology, instead of the sections on 'the whole yoke of the Lord' and idol-meat which are also absent from the Arabic. It also does not contain any distinctly Christian phrases. The quotations from the Sermon on the Mount &c. in i. 3–5, and the reference to confession in Church (iv. 14) are absent from both. The tract in both (notwithstanding some Christian fringes in the Arabic) is, in fact, very little removed from its Jewish original. The result is to strengthen the evidence for the origin of the *Didaché* in a country where Jewish influence was strong, and its moral teaching was already current. This book is noticed by Joseph Offord and E. Gilbert Highton in *Proc. of Soc. Bibl. Arch.* vol. 23, pp. 132–7, 1901.]

Franz Xaver Funk, *Die Apostolischen Konstitutionen.* Rottenburg am Neckar 1891.

———*Das Testament des Herrn und die verwandten Schriften.* Mainz, 1901.

Hans Achelis, *Die ältesten Quellen des Orientalischen Kirchenrechts, Erstes Buch, Die Canones Hippolyti.* 'T. und U.' vi. 4. Leipzig, 1891.

Edmundus Hauler, *Didascaliae Apostolorum Fragmenta Veronensia Latina; accedunt Canonum qui dicuntur Apostolorum et Aegyptiorum reliquiae,* fasc. prior. Lipsiae, 1900.

Ignatius Ephrem II. Rahmani, Patriarcha Antiochenus Syrorum, *Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi* (Syriac and Latin). Moguntiae, Kirchheim, 1899.

Wilhelm Riedel (Univ. Kiel), *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien zusammengestellt und zum Theil übersetzt.* Leipzig, 1900.

[Contains a new translation of the *Canons of Hippolytus* and first ed. of 106 *Canons of Basil*: see App. B.]

Eastern Liturgical Books.

Isaac Habert, Ἀρχιερατικόν. *Liber pontificalis Ecclesiae Graecae.* fol. Paris, 1643.

J. Goar, Εὐχολόγιον, *sive Rituale Graecorum.* Paris, 1647, Venice, 1730.

J. A. Assemani, *Codex liturgicus Ecclesiae universae.* 13 vols. 4to. Rome, 1749 &c.

Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα. 4to. Venet. 1526, and frequently to the present day. Also editions at Constantinople 1803 onwards, and Athens 1835 onwards.

Euseb. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio.* 2 vols. 4to. ed. 1, Paris, 1716; ed. 2, Francofurti ad M. et Lond. 1847.

P. Morinus, *De Sacris Ordinationibus;* fol. Paris, 1665. ed. 2, Antwerp, 1695.

——*De Poenitentia.* fol. Paris, 1651; Antwerp, 1682.

[These contain both Eastern and Western texts.]

Hen. Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium, Coptorum, Syrorum et Armenorum.* 2 vols. Wirceburgi, 1863–4.

C. A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies, chiefly from original Sources.* Camb. 1884.

F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, on the basis of the former work by C. E. Hammond. vol. i. *Eastern Liturgies.* Oxf. 1896.

——*The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis* in 'J. of Th. Studies,' vol. i. pp. 88–113 and 247–277. Lond. 1899, 1900.

Georg Wobbermin, *Altchristl. Liturg. Stücke aus der Kirche Aegyptens.* 'T. und U., N. F.' ii. 3 b. Leipzig, 1899.

John Wordsworth (Bishop of Salisbury), *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-book.* S. P. C. K. 1899.

Western Liturgical Books.

MELCHIOR HITTORPIUS, *De Catholicae Ecclesiae divinis officiis ac ministeriis varii vetustorum fere omnium Patrum ac Scriptorum Libri.* fol. Colon. 1568, Romae, 1591, Paris, 1619 and 1624.

JOH. MABILLON. O.S.B., *De Liturgia Gallicana libri III.* Paris, 4to. 1685.

——— *Musaeum Italicum*; tom. i. pt. 2, contains the Bobbio Sacramentary.

LUD. ANT. MURATORI, *Liturgia Romana vetus.* 2 vols. fol. Venet. 1748.

[Contains Leonine (after Bianchini, 1735), Gelasian, Gregorian, Missale Gothicum, M. Francorum, M. Gallicanum vetus, Sacramentarium Gallicanum (Bobiense), Ordines Romani I. and II.]

JOSEPHI MARIAE THOMASII *Opera.* ed. M. F. Vezzosi; vols. v. and vi. Romae, 1750–1.

[v. contains Antiphoner of Pope Gregory, Antiphonarius Carnutensis, Comes Ecclesiae Romanae, Lectionarius Missae, Lectionarius Evangeliorum; and vi.: Libri III Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae, Missale Gothicum, M. Francorum, M. Gallicanum vetus.]

WM. PALMER, *Origines Liturgicae.* 2 vols. Oxford, 1832 &c.

W. E. SCUDAMORE, *Notitia Eucharistica.* ed. 2, 1876.

H. A. WILSON, *The Gelasian Sacramentary.* Oxford, 1894.

——— *Index to the Leonine, Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries acc. to Muratori's text.* Camb. 1892.

C. L. FELTOE, *Sacramentarium Leonianum.* Camb. 1896.

F. E. WARREN, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church.* Oxford, 1881.

——— *The Bangor Antiphonarium.* H. Bradshaw Soc. 2 vols. 4to. (H. B. S.) 1893 and 1895.

——— *The Leofric Missal* &c. 4to. Oxford, 1883.

J. H. BERNARD and ROB. ATKINSON, *The Irish Liber Hymnorum.* H. B. S. 2 vols. 1898.

W. GREENWELL, *The Pontifical of Egbert.* Surtees Soc. vol. 27, 1853.

J. Stevenson, *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis* (ix^th cent. ?). Surtees Soc. vol. 10, 1839.

———*Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (xi^th cent. Winchester ?). Surtees Soc. vol. 23, 1851.

W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Eccl. Anglicanae.* 2nd ed. 3 vols. Oxf. 1882.

W. Maskell, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England.* 3rd ed. Oxf. 1882.

Chr. Wordsworth, *The Pontifical offices used by David de Bernham &c. with Appendices.* 4to, Edinb. 1885.

For recent Milanese books see above, p. 88, *n.* 35.

The following volumes of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* contain reprints of much that is in the foregoing, often with additional matter.

P. L. 53. *Sacramentarium Leonianum.*

———66. *S. Patris Benedicti Regula commentata*, and some other rules.

———72. *Liturgia Gallicana*, containing also the works of S. Germanus of Paris, the Antiphoner of Bangor, &c.

———74. *Sacramentarium Gelasianum.*

———78. *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae* (Gregorian, ed. Ménard) and *Ordines Romani* (ed. Mabillon).

———80. *Regula S. Columbani* (*Cursus Scottorum*).

———85-6. *Liturgia Mozarabica.*

———103. *S. Benedicti Anianensis Codex Regularum* and *Concordia Regularum*, &c.

———104. Agobard.

———105. Theodulfus of Orleans, Jesse of Amiens and Symphosius Amalarius.

———119. Florus of Lyons.

———138. The Masses published by Mone from Reichenau.

For the Kalendar.

Theodoric Ruinart, O.S.B., *Acta primorum Martyrum sincera et selecta.* ed. 2, fol. Amstel. 1713 ; also 8vo, Ratisbonae, 1859.

[Contains early Kalendars at the end.]

Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 13. For its contents on this subject see above, p. 397, n. 5.

R. T. Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium . . . with Kalendars from the tenth to the fifteenth century.* 2 vols. Lond. n.d. [*circa* 1850.]

Nicolaus Nilles, S.J., *Kalendarium Manuale utriusque Ecclesiae.* 2 vols. ed 2. Oeniponte, 1896–7.

Hans Achelis, *Die Martyrologien, ihre Geschichte und ihr Wert.* Berlin, 1900.

APPENDIX B.

THE 106 *CANONS OF BASIL, AN EGYPTIAN CHURCH ORDER, PROBABLY OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.*

(See above, p. 55, and Wilhelm Riedel 'Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien,' § 8 pp. 129, 131 and § 36 pp. 231–283, Leipzig, 1900).

1. *Manuscript Authority.*—This interesting Church order was first made known to Western scholars by Lic. Theol. W. Riedel, who translated it from a Berlin Arabic MS., containing a collection of ecclesiastical canons, in the volume quoted above. This MS., called by Riedel R, is numbered Diez A quart. 107, and was written circa A.D. 1340. It formerly belonged to the Capuchins at Cairo, whence it was brought by Diez. This treatise occurs, in it and in the Encyclopædia of Abû 'l Barakât (Riedel p. 35) and in the collection of Macarius (p. 125), between the 'Canons of Hippolytus' and those of John Chrysostom. See Vansleb, (Wansleben) *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie*, p. 282, Paris, 1677. It thus forms an integral part of the authoritative literature of the Coptic Church. The book was evidently written in Greek, and was no doubt translated into Coptic before it appeared in Arabic.

2. *Contents.*—The careful arrangement of the material makes it probable that the division into 106 canons is original. Riedel's division is as follows: 1, on the faith; 2, on the two ways (not, however, at all close to the Didaché); 3–19, on marriage and chastity; 20–27, on penitential discipline; 28–37,

precepts for the laity; 38–95, precepts for the clergy; 96–106, liturgical directions.

3. *Authorship and Date.*—The ascription to S. Basil seems a pretence, but it was one suitable to commend a collection of canonical rules many of which were of non-Egyptian origin. Basil was honoured in Egypt, perhaps on account of his travels in that country in order to acquire experience of the ascetic life. There is no special similarity between its rules and those of the three *Canonical Epistles* (Nos. 188, 199, 216) of that father, while there are some indications, here and there, of Egyptian authorship. The most conclusive that I have observed is the use of four N. T. lections in the Liturgy (c. 97) with none from the O. T. For the Liturgies of Syria, Asia, and Pontus, all appear to have had prophetic lections (Brightman, pp. 470, 520 n. 5, 521, 580, *s.v.* 'Lections'). Another almost equally decisive proof is the order to break the bread at the saying of the words: 'which is broken for you,' though the Coptic and Abyssinian Liturgies, like our own, attach this direction to the words 'he brake it' (Br. 177, 1 and 232, 20), not to those that follow. The mention of cemetery chapels being built for gain as a bad custom brought from Egypt (c. 31) is really evidence in the same direction. It is an attempt to use the authority of the great Cappadocian against a local evil. The polemic against martyria and the bringing of the bodies of martyrs into churches (c. 33) is of a piece with what St. Athanasius relates of Antony (*Vit. Anton.* 91) and Ruffinus of St. Athanasius himself (*H. E.* ii. 28). It also agrees with the absence of the use of relics in the Coptic *Consecration of a Church and Altar* which Mr. Horner has just edited (1902). Cp. my paper *On the Rite of Consecration of Churches*, p. 22, Ch. Hist. Soc. 1899 and above p. 89.

The evidence as to date is scanty. If the Basilian authorship be dismissed, the date would probably be some considerable time after his death († 1 Jan. 379). Riedel finds parallels with the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons (c. 375–400) and the Codex Ecclesiae Africanae (A.D. 419) as well as the Council of Laodicea.

But the most probable *terminus a quo* is A.D. 430, about which date Western Christmas was introduced at Alexandria (c. 30, *v.s.* p. 401). The mention of an Archdeacon (c. 105 R. p. 281) may also be noted. On the other hand the absence of

a Creed in the Liturgy other than the confession of the Blessed Trinity, would give us a superior limit if we knew when the Creed was introduced in Egypt into the Liturgy. It is said to have been introduced at Antioch by the intruding Peter the Fuller (469–488), but at what time in his episcopate is not stated. Riedel notices the early form of the rules as to ascetics, virgins, and widows, the danger still apprehended from the 'subintroductae,' and the absence of any references to cloistered life either for men or women (cc. 32, 36). Nor is there any reference to daily services, the invocation of saints, or the use of incense.

In any case the book must be earlier than the Moslem conquest A.D. 640.

It is to be remarked that the characteristic Egyptian terms which appear in Sarapion are not found in this book, unless the emphasis on the oneness of the Church in c. 31 represents the Greek *μόνη*. The references to the Temple of Artemis as a dangerous place in c. 37 are difficult to account for in Egypt. Riedel identifies the name of the goddess with the Arabic Uzzâ (See Sir Wm. Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, ch. v. pp. 86 foll., ed. 1877; and *Koran*, Sura 53, cp. · ; and Sale's and Rodwell's notes), which occurs in the same chapter.

4. *Doctrine.*—The tendency would appear to be to Monophysitism, as might be expected. Thus in c. 1 we read 'the word took the body (*not* flesh) from the Virgin,' and so in the Baptismal responses c. 105, p. 281. But in the Baptismal Creed, which is an interesting and peculiar one, and may be here quoted, the teaching is unexceptionable. It runs thus, and is clearly a form of the Western or Roman Creed (but note the change from 'I' to 'we'):—

'I confess the Father, from whom the whole Creation is called into existence: and I confess the Son of God, whom the Virgin bore according to the flesh, who died for us, rose again on the third day, ascended to Heaven to his first glory and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, the same who also will come at his second appearing, that he may judge the living and the dead; and we believe on the Holy Spirit, who is in the hallowed, universal, apostolic Church.'

Yet in the same service there is an almost Sabellian or Patripassian prayer for the hallowing of the water:—

'We humbly beseech thee, O God, creator of all, Father and Word, thou immortal who diedst for our sake, thou begotten before all creation, thou who at the end of time appearedst from the Virgin Mary, and baptised by John sanctifiedst water through thy bath, send thy Holy Spirit, which at the Jordan came down upon thee, upon this water, so that everyone who is baptised therein may be cleansed from the first . . . ., and be clean from the defilement of body, soul and spirit. Give them a new heart and fill them with thy Holy Spirit that they may be thy faithful servants, since thou hast bruised the devil under their feet, that they may trample on him in the new birth, through thy good Son, through whom be honour to thee together with him and the Holy Spirit to the age of the ages. Amen.'

The last clause may indeed be the customary ending added by some ignorant or careless compiler or copyist, but the opening in any case is remarkable. So is the phrase 'good Son.'

There is no detailed description of ordination except that of a Bishop in c. 46. He must not be ordained without the Metropolitan; and two other Bishops must be with him. The Gospel is to be laid on his head and the superior Bishop (Archbishop?) is to pray over him, as in the *Const. per Hippolytum* (above p. 33). The prayer asks that he may become a successor of the Apostles and that the Holy Spirit may be given him to pray for the Church over which he is placed and lead it aright, and live a holy life. But there is no hint of sacrificial acts to be performed by him; only there is an obscure phrase, which seems to rest on a, possibly interpolated, Arabic paronomasia (*qassama* = to 'ordain' and to 'divide') suggesting that he is to divide or distribute the body and blood of Christ.

The mention of an Œconomus in c. 86 may perhaps suggest a date after A.D. 451, when these officers, who had existed for some time previously, were made necessary church officers by the 26th canon of Chalcedon. A 'first presbyter' is also named as judging with the Bishop (c. 92).

5. *Summary of noticeable Points.*—I. 1. *The Faith.* This reminds us slightly of C. Hipp., but is very much fuller. The Incarnation is thus described:—'The Word . . . came down and took up his abode in the Virgin in an unspeakable and inexplicable manner. He was in her nine months and took from her a body and fashioned it in her according to the will and good

pleasure of his Father.' The death of Christ is thus described: —'It is not the manhood alone, with which he suffered, but also the Godhead, so that we may not lie like Photius and Sabellius, who say that he took his Godhead aside and they only crucified the manhood; we on the contrary believe that the impassible suffered, the bodiless took a body, the bloodless took a share of blood, he who was incapable of change through the Incarnation (*οἰκονομία* ?) underwent the change of death.' There are not four persons after the Incarnation, but three.

II. 1–2. *Concerning the place of Life and Death.*—Sins of impurity are specially divided into fornication, adultery, impurity (unlawful marriage), uncleanness (unnatural offences). Magic rather than direct idolatry is contemplated. Wine is not blameable, but drunkenness is a disgrace. Sins of the tongue are specially censured. The virtues are Faith, Hope and Love with Humility. Prayer and fasting drive away evil spirits. Deeds of mercy are specially pure.

III. 3–19. *On Marriage and Chastity.*—Continence of married persons is prescribed on holy days (c. 3) and with great emphasis in Lent (cc. 17, 30); a slave concubine is permitted if a man has no wife (c. 7); when a man or woman married to a heathen becomes a Christian, separation from the heathen partner is not only permitted but recommended.

IV. 20–27. *Penitential Discipline.*—Marriage of a man with two sisters or of a woman with two brothers is forbidden under pain of lifelong penance (c. 25); men must wear no red clothes or wear seals on their fingers or let their hair grow long or tattoo themselves like the heathens (c. 27).

V. 28–37. *Precepts for the Laity.*—Hands must be washed before morning prayer on account of the dirt of the sleeping-mat, but, if water is not to be had, they may be cleansed by spittle, on account of the water of baptism within the Christian (c. 28); communion is to be given in the nights before Christmas and Epiphany and there is to be no fasting in the fifty days of Pentecost (c. 30); the polemic against the martyria has already been noted (c. 33, 35); unction of the sick by a Presbyter with oil out of the church is mentioned in passing (c. 35); a virgin who marries after her profession, and a church widow who marries after the age of sixty, are guilty of adultery (c. 36);

a public house or inn is declared to be a temple of Artemis, and theatres exhibit the mysteries of Baal (c. 37).

VI. *Precepts for the Clergy*, 28–95.—Two canons on the wives and children of Bishops (c. 40, 41) and the rule that no Bishop, Priest or Deacon may marry a second time after ordination, the penalty being to take the lowest office (c. 42), and that no man twice married be ordained (c. 43), show that the marriage of the clergy was an ordinary circumstance. There seems no difference between a Bishop and either of the other orders in this matter. No one is to be rejected from orders because he is blind of one eye, lame or halt, or has one hand lame, provided he can celebrate the Sacrament (c. 49); Presbyters and Deacons must take care not to drink before they light the lamps at the altar, but when one is obliged to drink he must stay indoors all day (c. 54); no clerk may be a slave (c. 63); no clerk may pray over a second marriage (c. 72); fasting for clerks includes abstinence from wine and baths, in Lent and Wednesdays and Fridays (c. 77); it is a sin for a clerk to put on a crown of vine, palm, or olive leaves (c. 80); no legacies are to be received which imply payment of tithes or land-tax (c. 86), a church may only be built with permission of the Bishop (c. 94); a Bishop who has received a bribe to keep a criminous Presbyter or Deacon in his place is to be excommunicated by the Metropolitan (c. 95).

VII. 96–105, *Liturgical Directions.*—Vestments worn by the clergy at the Liturgy are to be white and not coloured, and to be kept in church, and no shoes are to be worn in choir (c. 96). The Egyptian character of the Liturgy has already been noticed above, p. 446 (c. 97). The Sacrament must not be taken out of the Church except in danger of death (c. 98). After the words 'When our Lord came to perform the great and wonderful mystery,' the Presbyter is to make the sign of the Cross and to touch the Bread, and when he says 'which was broken,' he is to break it; a Deacon may help him break it, but not make the sign of the Cross or distribute it. Only one-third of water may be mixed in the chalice—a rule afterwards adopted by the Council of Tribur in A.D. 895 (c. 99). There is a strange and obscure provision, 'No Presbyter shall hallow the Cup' (c. 100), on which light is needed; the Liturgy of Baptism has already

been referred to (above p. 447–8); it is worthy of careful study in detail (c. 101–106). Baptism of infants is provided for; parents or relations may answer for them, or, if they have no relations, the Church takes them for her children—an early contribution to the history of sponsorship (c. 105). Water is to be poured over the head and whole body, and then forehead, head, palms, shoulders, both elbows, all limbs, both ears, both eyes, nose and tongue, are to be anointed with *χάρισμα*-oil—the consecration of which is described in c. 104—and the words used, 'This is the anointing which doth not pass away, the anointing of eternal life, the anointing of the gift of the Holy Spirit, the anointing of the pledge of the Kingdom of Heaven' (c. 105). Finally the Bishop shall pray over them as follows:—

'Lord of Heaven, immortal, eternal God, thou who hast made thy servants worthy of this great gift through the laver of the new birth, and hast filled them with the light of thy Holy Spirit, fill them with thy fear that they may fear thee. Take this heart of flesh from them and give them a new heart. Save them from the malice and snares of their enemies, that they may be able to serve thee all the days of their life, while they serve thee in all purity, like thy whole Church, through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom be honour to thee with him and the Holy Spirit, to the age of ages. Amen.'

Then he says to the baptised, 'The Lord be with you.' They answer, 'And with thy Spirit. Then He bids the baptised to be brought to the sacrifice. Then they communicate before the whole Church. This is the holy garment which was spoken of to John—*Apoc.* ii. 17 (c. 106).

APPENDIX C

REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE OF 1897 *ON RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES, PRESENTED NOVEMBER* 1901. *S.P.C.K. LONDON*, 1902. See above p. 302.

THIS Committee of 22 Bishops of which the late Bishop Stubbs of Oxford was chairman has now published the first part of its report. The second part, on Deaconesses, is not yet complete. The report is signed 'W. Oxon,' and dated Nov. 28, 1898.

The following principles are laid down in it (pp. 6–10):—

A. It is essential for a due relation—

1. That there should be on the part of the Episcopate a recognition of Religious Communities within the Church of England, and of the Religious Life as expressed in the Rule of such Communities.
2. That there should be on the part of the Communities a distinct recognition of the authority of the Episcopate.

B. *The Visitor.*

1. The Bishop of the Diocese should be, ex-officio, Visitor of the Mother-House of any Community established in his Diocese.

   The Committee have had before them several proposals for the creation or election of a Visitor in the case of the Bishop of the Diocese being unwilling to accept the office. The Committee recommend that in such cases the Community should elect its own Visitor, subject to the approval of such election by the Archbishop or Metropolitan of the Province.

   As to the visitation of Branch-Houses provision should be made in the Statutes of the Community to determine the co-relation and co-ordination of the authority of the Visitor of the Mother-House and that of the Bishop of the Diocese in which the Branch-House is situated.

2. The functions of the Visitor are

   (1) To insure that the constitution of the Community as originally established, or subsequently modified by

Statute, has received authoritative sanction. Such authoritative sanction should be derived either from an Episcopal Visitor or from the Archbishop or Metropolitan of the Province.

(2) To secure, by personal Visitation either *proprio motu* or on appeal, that the Statutes and Rule of the Constitution are duly observed. Such appeal should be open to every member of the Community.

3. Apart from visitatorial power, it belongs to the ordinary authority of the Bishop of the Diocese to license the Clergy who are to minister in the Chapel of the Mother-House of the Communities, and to regulate the due administration of the Sacraments and the Services appointed in the Book of Common Prayer.

In the Branch-Houses the Committee recommend that the Ministering Clergy shall be licensed by the Bishop of the Diocese on the nomination of the Visitor, or of the Governing Body, of the Mother-House.

C. The Constitution of each Community should contain—

a. The distinct recognition of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England as supreme.

b. Provision for formation of a proper Governing Body.

c. Provision for rules for imposition of, and release from, vows, solemn promises, or engagements with the Community; it being secured that the formal Profession of the Members of a Community should be always made before the Bishop of the Diocese, or some deputy appointed by him for that purpose.

d. Provision for due rules as to additional Offices, books of Devotion, and ornaments and appliances of House and Chapel.

e. Provision for due rules as to possession and disposition of property.

D. In the opinion of the Committee time should be given to new Communities to deliberate over their Statutes under provisional sanction.

The provisions of C are, in my opinion, most important, particularly *c*, which refers to the possible withdrawal of members from the Communities.

APPENDIX D

LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT

A Paper read at the Church Congress, Brighton, October, 1901.

By the Right Rev. John Wordsworth, D.D.,
Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

Our blessed Lord, in giving the Lord's Prayer to His disciples, did much more for us than we are apt to remember. It was (1) a form, (2) a pattern, of prayer, (3) for daily and (4) for public use, in which (5) the Church on earth approached God as a family (6) together with the angels. Here was much in harmony with the best Old Testament thought, but also much that was new. The Jews had the Psalms, but besides these their Temple prayers were in a private form. Both the Pharisee's 'God, I thank Thee,' and the publican's 'God be merciful unto me,' though uttered in the Temple, were in the first person singular. We, who are drawn into one family in Christ, go before God as Father always in the plural number, as S. Cyprian well observed long ago (*de or. dom.* 4). And we pray with, nay, for, the angels, 'Hallowed be Thy Name, Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done, As in heaven so on earth,' or as the African Church not untruly rendered it, 'in cælo et in terra,' 'in heaven and in earth.'

We need seek no other justification therefore for forms of public prayer, while we forget not that other side of the truth put forward by the Alexandrian Clement (*Strom.* vii. 7, pp. 853 foll., ed. Potter), that prayer is 'conversation with God,' and that God is 'all ear and all eye' to hear the unspoken thoughts or whispers of His servants in every moment of their lives and to see and sympathise with their needs.

Public prayer, therefore, to the Christian should have form and orderly arrangement, after the pattern and manner of the Lord's Prayer. But it must not cease to be the prayer of children, an extension of spontaneous family life in which children ask for their needs as they arise. Thus our Lord's command implies at once form in prayer and freedom in prayer,

that combination which it is the great duty of the Church throughout the ages to keep ever in remembrance, not only in regard to prayer, but in regard to the whole conduct of the Christian life. On the one side we have 'The faith once for all delivered to the saints,' on the other the watchword 'Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.' On the one side we have the apostolic, on the other the prophetic, character On the one side the regular stated ministry carrying on a succession by devolution of duties, on the other the charismatic ministry, as men and women receive special spiritual gifts and a peculiar momentary call to the service of God and the Church.

Liturgical development, such as I have to speak of this evening, partakes of both characters; but perhaps it is necessary to-day to emphasise its connection with the second rather than the first. It must be in great measure the work of Christian prophets, not indeed acting independently, but under the control of the proper authority and with submission to proper limitations. True liturgical development must be perfectly, I had almost said rigidly, orthodox. For public prayer is to unite men and make them feel thoroughly at home, not to perplex them. It must recognise the limitations of the Creed, which itself (as Dr. Harnack has well reminded us) is the work of the charismatic ministry. It must always be in conformity with the teaching of Scripture. It must recognise the right of living authority to check and control it.

Thus S. John teaches us to try true and false prophets by the test of their doctrine of the Incarnation; and S. Paul constantly considers practical rules of Church discipline and order in the light of their conformity to Scripture. The application of these limits is indeed not always an easy thing, but it is one of the regular functions of the episcopate to see that they are applied. This is in its full sense what we mean by the *Jus Liturgicum*, not that every bishop should have unlimited power or be expected himself to be frequently a composer of forms of prayer, but that he should be generally responsible for the conduct of public worship. This follows from the ancient conception of such worship that the bishop was everywhere present personally or by deputy—a conception vividly expressed in the old maxim of Ignatius to the Smyrneans, c. 8: 'Let no one do anything

apart from the bishop of the things that pertain to the Church. Let that be considered a valid Eucharist which is under the bishop or someone to whom he gives permission. Wherever the bishop appears there let the people be, just as wherever Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church. It is not permitted apart from the bishop either to baptise or to make a love-feast; but whatever he may approve that also is well pleasing to God —so that whatever is done by you may be safe and valid.' There was no intention here, I think, to abolish charismatic ministry, but to limit it by requiring safeguards for good sense and orthodoxy on behalf of the community. The later rise of Montanism, about A.D. 157, even more than the rise of heresy, made it necessary to draw a distinction between the "Church of the bishops" and the sect that claimed unchecked spiritual illumination, and thus the tendency was to discourage true as well as false claims to spiritual gifts. But much that sprang from Montanism, for good as well as evil, passed, I doubt not, into the Church.[1] So it has been, most certainly, in our own communion, which has learned much from Nonconformists; so it may be even more in the future, as a better understanding prevails between separated portions of Christ's body.

For a long time, indeed, we have been happily familiar with one branch of charismatic activity, the outpouring of the spirit in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, composed by individual Christians as God has called and inspired them. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the freedom thus secured to the Church. It enables us to use the gifts of women as well as men (as the Montanists rightly tried to do, though in an imprudent manner). It enables us to unite with Christians of all other communions, and thus to realise two aspects of the worship of heaven, its breadth of unity and its elevation of feeling. You cannot easily hate a man whose hymns you love to sing, even though you feel he may not be above criticism in some, perhaps

[1] We can gather, I think, to some extent what Montanistic prayers were like from the liturgical matter in the *Testament of our Lord*. This Syriac book was clearly not completed till a later date (*circa* A.D. 400), but its earlier basis has, it seems to me, a Montanistic character; and this appears particularly in the prayers.

many, of his opinions. But even as regards heaven, I do not know that it is part of revelation that we shall all think alike.

Another great instrument of freedom has been the introduction of the method of parochial missions. The object being to teach elementary truths, and to create elementary Christian feelings of conviction of sin, hope, gratitude, joy in new life, and the like, it has been natural to use elementary and primitive instruments. The circle of fellow-workers has been greatly enlarged, the gifts of humbler Christian people have been recognised, and a freedom to teach and to pray have been conceded to them which, under other circumstances, would have been feared or misliked. Out of this spirit has grown the "Church Army" within our own communion, and other Evangelist brotherhoods, for which we have deep cause to thank God. The use of such instruments has an even greater future before it, and I can foresee that as well inside as outside our churches (as is the case in many Colonial dioceses) we shall have to use the services of Evangelists or Readers much more freely, as the power of providing everywhere a ministry of Presbyters and Deacons diminishes.

I have spoken of hymns and informal prayers. Freedom has also been secured in practice for many other types of service, ranging upwards in fixity of form as they approach that breadth of use which is the great glory of our Prayer-book. It is convenient to think of these forms under three heads.

I.—First we have the local and personal offices of devotion belonging to societies and guilds or in use in single parishes.

These are a sort of extension of the offices of family prayer, which it has long been open to anyone to compose, and to use in his own household. When it has been proposed to use such offices in church, the Bishop's *Jus Liturgicum* has naturally come in, enabling him to claim a power of oversight on behalf of the community. It has been questioned whether the legal conditions under which his oversight is exercised oblige him to restrict such offices, and others of the two remaining classes, to the letter of the Bible and the Prayer-book. Personally, I have not felt it necessary to adopt or impose this restriction, but merely to lay down the principle that the matter contained in them must be in absolute harmony with the Bible and Prayer-

book; and so I have from time to time felt it my duty to erase or alter expressions which did not appear to be in harmony with our formularies or to be justified by Scripture.

These services on the whole are unpartisan in character and, if not very forcible, are yet useful and convenient. Two things I should like to say about them before an audience such as this: (*a*) That it would be well if the very ablest and most spiritual men among us were to give considerable time and thought and prayer to the composition of such services; (*b*) that the freedom allowed to these services in practice entirely depends for its continuance upon the absence of dangerous elements from them. The excesses of Montanism led to restrictions on the charismatic ministry all round, and to an abiding prejudice against what was called 'enthusiasm.' Something of the same kind will be experienced among us if anything of superstition be introduced into these guild or society devotions; and what is harmless as well as what is harmful may have to be alike prohibited. Our churches are homes of the whole body, not of the parishioners merely, or of a section of parishioners.

II.—A second and more public class of services is made up of those that may be called Diocesan. Such are those in which I have been more particularly concerned, viz. services for the consecration of churches and churchyards; the re-opening of churches after restoration, and their reconciliation after some profane act; or those connected with the clergy personally, their institution and induction, and the admission of various officers; or those for the commemoration of founders and benefactors and other persons whom we desire to keep in mind.

It does not appear to me very desirable that such services should be added to the Prayer-book, at any rate for some time to come. The service for the consecration of churches, which was nearly made obligatory by Convocation at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and which is the basis of those adopted in the American and Irish Prayer-books, is very narrow in its circle of thoughts and is very poor in symbolism. That in use in our diocese, in which I had the kind help of Dr. William Bright and others, is certainly much fuller and richer, though I am far from thinking that it is incapable of improvement. I may add that I have published this service, with a lecture on the history

of the rite and an explanation of the principles of the new form, which may be obtained from the S.P.C.K. (1899). It contains much that I should like to say to-night but have not time to mention.

The other service on which I have bestowed most labour is that for the commemoration of our founders, benefactors and worthies. We were not by any means the first to introduce such a service, for everyone almost who has been at one of the older Universities knows of such commemoration there. It was, indeed, one of the ideas of the Elizabethan Reformation that such commemorations should be held in colleges and schools. But the introduction of them into Cathedrals is due, I think, to the example of that true prophet, Bishop Westcott, who read a paper on 'The Communion of Saints' at the Leicester Church Congress of 1880, and prevailed on the Chapter of Peterborough Cathedral, of which he was then a member, to introduce such a commemoration in the following year. Our own began in 1889.[1] Dean Bradley introduced one into Westminster Abbey somewhat later, and others, no doubt, have followed. They are a gift, in all these cases, from the Universities to the Church. I should be glad to have further facts on this head from those who know other instances.[2]

As regards parochial commemorations, I have tried to introduce them, as at Wimborne Minster,[3] but with scant success. The historic sense is not as strong as it ought to be in our country parishes; and there is a quite proper lurking feeling of the danger of pushing forward the idea of 'patron saints,' many of whom, like a great number of female saints once very popular—Ursula, Margaret, Barbara, Catherine, and the rest—are very mythical. But a remembrance of tangible blessings given to us by our fellow Churchmen ought surely to be kept up in every parish. A bidding prayer, with proper insertions,

[1] It has been published in my brother's recent book, *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions*, Ed. Chr. Wordsworth, Preb. of Lincoln, Rector of S. Peter's, Marlborough, pp. 308–318, Cambridge, 1901.

[2] One was introduced into Newcastle Cathedral in 1902.

[3] This may be found in connection with a sermon called *The Glory of Wessex* (Salisbury: Brown & Co., 1892).

should certainly be said everywhere at least once a year, and a sermon preached on parochial or diocesan history.

I may add that a commemoration of the more recently departed, to be said on Easter Even after the evening prayer, has been drawn up and sanctioned by myself for use in such parishes as desire to pay this tribute of Christian feeling to those whom they have loved and lost.[1] I think Easter Even a better day than those others that have been proposed, as being naturally connected with the hope of resurrection.

III.—The third class of services is made up of those that have general episcopal authority or, perhaps, that of Convocation. Those that are most familiar are a harvest thanksgiving service and a service of intercession for foreign missions. These are rather more on the lines of the *Act of Uniformity Amendment Act*, 1872, than the diocesan forms which I have mentioned. I suppose that they fairly well serve their purpose, but they appear to me to be needlessly uninteresting. I should like at any rate to add for foreign missions the use of Goulburn and Woollcombe's Litany, which many of us learnt to value at Oxford, and which is quite biblical enough in my opinion to come under the terms of the Act just mentioned.[2]

I am glad to be able to mention the fact that both provinces have now agreed upon modifications of the Accession Service, for which I presume we shall ask authority to enact a Canon. In this way the services (for they are in fact alternatives) will doubtless pass into general and regular use. In one there is provision for the recitation of the *Te Deum*, in which the triple

[1] This also may be found in *Salisbury Processions*, etc., pp. 326-7. It was first printed in 1899. An alteration has been made, I do not quite know how, of one of the responses, 'If I go down to hell,' etc., into 'If I go down to the grave,' etc. But as long as 'He descended into hell' remains in the Creed—and this is what the prayer following refers to the old Prayer-book and Bible (A.V.) word seems appropriate. The R.V. has 'If I make my bed in Sheol, behold Thou art there.'

[2] It has been reprinted in several forms, and amongst others in the *Salisbury Diocesan Guild Manual*, pp. 105-9 (Brown & Co., Salisbury, 1898), but without the original scripture references. This manual also contains a number of collects for various purposes.

division, now recognised by scholars, is accepted. Let me just mention what that division is, for the sake of those who may not be familiar with it. It is based on the fact that the *Te Deum* really consists of two separate hymns, followed by a set of eight versicles and responses. The first hymn (verses 1–13) is a doxology to the Blessed Trinity, which may be described as a Christian version of the 148th Psalm. It falls, like that Psalm, into two parts, the praise of Angels and the praise of the Church on earth, each with its appropriate gloria. A new beginning on the part of the Precentor and a change of chant should, of course, be made at *Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ*, and this division should be observed in reading as well as singing. This second hymn is a prayer of eight verses to Christ the Redeemer and Judge, ending at verse 21 with *Make them to be numbered with thy Saints in glory everlasting*—a prayer including the whole company of the faithful, living and departed. The versicles and responses that follow might be appended to any Hymn, Psalm, or prayer, and indeed they are in part found elsewhere in Morning and Evening Prayer and Compline. The musical setting should observe these divisions, instead of, as is too frequently the case, obliterating some or all of them. How often we hear a new chant wrongly introduced at *Vouchsafe, O Lord!* The versicles and responses, that is to say, the half-verses of the present arrangement, should be divided between Priest and People, or Precentor and Choir, or, less properly, between the two sides.

As regards Prayer-book services, my principle would be 'make more of the great seasons of Redemption, and do not overload the Sanctorale.' I should like many more proper Psalms and some more proper Lessons for the great seasons. I should like more proper opening sentences for Mattins and Evensong, as in the U.S.A. Prayer-book. I should like more of matter like the Easter Anthems and more frequent use of those we have during the season from Easter to Pentecost. I should like a certain number of Antiphons, such as we have introduced into our Cathedral Commemoration, on really great days. I should like a restoration for such days and seasons of Responds of which we have only one instance left in the after-part of the Litany, and that not quite correctly printed. Those who wish to

understand the meaning and the striking effect of these elements of worship should read the third chapter of Dr. Pierre Batiffol's *History of the Roman Breviary*, a chapter entitled 'The Canonical Office in the time of Charlemagne.'[1] I should like Proper Prefaces for Lent and Advent, for Ordinations and Funerals in the Communion Service. I should like a certain number of additional Saints' Day Collects, Epistles, and Gospels. But on this head I should be cautious and conservative. The overdoing of the Sanctorale in pre-reformation times destroyed the beauty and force of the Breviary, and led to the wholesale condemnation of what was no longer a genuine representation of the evangelical spirit which prevailed up to and into the ninth century, and indeed in many places later.

As regards the Liturgy proper, I look forward with hope to the publication of a careful edition by Canon Taylor and Messrs. Walter Howard Frere and Percy Dearmer,[2] which will give all that may be in any way considered authoritative, without the accretions which are too often introduced *ad libitum celebrantis*. I may add that I prefer our own Liturgy to the Scottish, and have no wish to make any large change in it.

APPENDIX E.

THE HOLY FIRE AT JERUSALEM.

See pp. 384–5.

There is an essay by J. L. Mosheim (first pub. 1736) in his *Dissertationes ad Hist. Eccl. pertinentes* Altonaviae et Flensburgi, ii. 211 306, 1767, entitled *De Lumine Sancti Sepulchri Commentatio*. He notes the deficiency of early testimony to

[1] This book, first published in 1893 (editions 1 and 2), has been translated by Rev. A. M. Y. Baylay, Vicar of Thurgarton, Notts., and published by Longmans & Co., 1898. Here and there, I have noticed phrases which seemed to me of doubtful correctness, but the translation is certainly a great convenience.

[2] It will be published by Rivingtons, 1902, and will be a beautiful as well as an elaborate book.

it, and quotes, as the first instance of such a light known to Christian history, the description given by Gregory of Tours of the light which shone on Good Friday night (about 9 p.m.) in the church of the nunnery at Poitiers, founded by St. Radegund (A.D. 569). See Greg. Turon. *De Gloria Martyrum* I. v. p. 725 ed. Ruinart (Mosh. p 239).

Mosheim (p. 243 f.) distinguishes Bernardus, who is usually cited as the first witness of the fire at Jerusalem [being quoted by Wm. of Malmesbury (*De Gestis Reg. Angliae* iv. 2, p. 209) and Albericus (*Chron.* ad A.D. 970)] who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 870, and put up at the hospice founded by Charles the Great, from the monk whose account is given by Mabillon (*Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* saec. III. pt. 2, p. 523 foll.) who visited Jerusalem when Nicolas I. was pope (858–867), *i.e.* a few years earlier. But the distinction is rather uncertain, and Mabillon identifies the two witnesses. Mosheim suggests that the Latin monks, whom Charles the Great introduced into Jerusalem in the time of Harun al Raschid, contrived the false miracle. See *Eginhardi et Lauris. Annales*, s.a. 799–801, *P. L.* 104, pp. 456, *sq.*

He compares (p. 250 foll.) the so-called miraculous filling of the baptismal font on Easter Even mentioned by Hildefonsus Toletanus and Greg. Tur. *De Gl. Mart.* I. xxvi. p. 746.

This suggestion of Mosheim's is taken up warmly by Koray in his Dialogue *περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἁγίου φωτός*, Ἄτακτα, tom. iii., pp. 327–417, dated Nov. 18, 1826. He attempts, however, to particularise the date more exactly. He observes (p. 339) that the Patriarch Photius (fl. c. A.D. 857) did not know of the marvel; and supposes that it was probably invented by the Latin monks to make up for the decay of pilgrimages in the troubled times *after* the death of Harun al Raschid. The Dialogue is in many respects interesting, and displays considerable learning, but it adds nothing, as regards the origin of the custom, to the material collected by Mosheim, from whom Koray has freely borrowed, as was natural.

It is to be noticed that St. Radegund, when she built her nunnery at Poitiers, sent her servants to the East, and especially to Jerusalem, to collect relics and bring back a portion of the 'true cross' (Mosheim p. 239). It is possible that they then

brought back a custom in regard to a Paschal light, which superstition, or the desire to excite interest and enthusiasm, changed into a marvel.

I think indeed that the whole ceremony, as far as the holy sepulchre is concerned, probably had its origin from the simple custom observed by 'Silvia' (see above, p. 439) of lighting the lamps in the church of the Anastasis daily from the inner cave 'where a lamp is always alight night and day.' Nothing could be more natural than to put out this light, symbolical I suppose of our Saviour, on Good Friday or Maundy Thursday, and to relight it on Easter Even. Possibly some pretence in regard to it was already made in the time of St. Radegund or it may have begun only at the time suggested by Koray.

The reader may be reminded that heathen theurgists were familiar with some means of suddenly producing light, as appears from the account of the influence obtained by the sophist Maximus of Ephesus over the young Julian, *c.* A.D. 351–355, through the report of such a miracle worked by him on the torches in the hands of Hecate. See Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum*, i. p. 51, Amst. 1822.

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